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A PARSEE HIGH PRIEST (DASTUR AZAR
KAIWAN, 1529-1614 A.D.) WITH HIS
ZOROASTRIAN DISCIPLES IN PATNA,
IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY A.C.¹

DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT.

I

INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to give a brief account of a band of Zoroastrians—priests and laymen, with Dastur Âzar Kaiwân as their head,—who visited Northern India and stayed at Patna in the latter part of the 16th century and the earlier part of the 17th century A.C.

The first question is : What drew the Zoroastrians from Persia to India? The number of Zoroastrians in Persia, at the time of which we write, was much larger than at present.² They knew of the existence of the Zoroastrian Parsees of India, because the latter corresponded

1 This paper was read before the Sixth Oriental Conference at Patna on 18th December 1930. It then formed the subject of a discourse before the Zarthoshti Din ni Khol Karnâri Mandli, in the hall of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, on 4th December 1931.

2 The figures of Zoroastrian population in Persia, at various times, seem approximately to be as follows: (a) Beginning of 16th century 1 million. (b) In the time of Fath Ali Shah (1798-1836) 50,000. (c) In the time of Mahomad Shah (1836-46) 30,000. (d) In 1854, as ascertained by Mr. Maneckji Hatara, the agent in Persia of the Parsees of India, 7,725. (e) In 1925-27, as ascertained by Mr. Manock F. Mulla, 10,050. The Zoroastrians of Iran residing, at present, in India, about 5,000 (Manock F. Mulla's book on Seistan, p. 121).

with their learned men.¹ But the then position of the Indian Parsees was not such as to draw them from Persia to India.

In the times of Humayun and his successors, individual Parsees had risen to fame and to some high positions and had founded families, some of which have carried down the name and fame of their founders upto now. Individual families, like those of Changa Shah, Dastur Meherji Rana, Desai, Dordi, etc., of Naosari, the Nek-sâat Khans, Beherland Khans, Taleyârkhans, Seths and others of Surat, the Mirzâns of Udware, and others had come into prominence. But much cannot be said with certainty about the community as a whole. Mr. Morland² says that the position of the Parsees was not clear. Rev. Terry (1615-16) said that their profession was husbandry. Mundy (1632) said that it was that of cultivating palm trees.³ Father A. Monserrate (1580) could not even distinguish them at Naosari from other Indians and mixed them up with non-Parsees of the place. It was at Surat that Thevenot (1660) found them to be conspicuous figures. Garcia da Orta (1534) had found them to be traders. From Akbar's time, they began to turn a little from agriculture to "commer-

1 The subjects of this correspondence are noted in the compilations, known as the Rivâyats. *Vide* my Introduction to Ervad Manekji Rustomji Unwala's Rivâyât of Darab Hormuzdiâr, for their contents.

2 India at the death of Akbar, by W. H. Morland, p. 23.

3 It seems, that they had inherited this art of cultivating the palm trees and preparing a wine, a kind of healthy drink, from this, from the times of their Achæmenian forefathers. According to Herodotus, the king of distant Ethiopia (modern Abyssinia), though he believed that his Abyssinians lived longer on their wheat than the Persians, attributed the health of the Persians, whatever it be, to their health-giving wine, made from palm trees.

cial career " in which they have since accomplished success.¹ They had gone for business, from Gujarat, the place of their head-quarters, to distant places like Delhi, Agra and even Kashmir. But, whatever their pursuit, they had, to a great extent, faithfully adhered to their faith. Their literature was mostly confined to religion, in the matter of which they occasionally consulted their co-religionists in Persia. So, it were not the Parsees of India that drew here Azar Kaiwan and his party. On the other hand, from what happened in later times, when the written works of some of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan were sought after and translated, at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Baronet, in the middle of the last century, it seems probable, that, possibly, their advent in India, drew the attention of the Indian Parsees to them and to their beliefs. So, as all the members of the party were of a mystic frame of mind, it seems probable that it was the religious fervour of the time in the Moghul Court of Akbar that drew them here. I will here speak on the state of that religious fervour.

II

AKBAR AND HIS TIMES.

The Court of the Moghul Emperors of India² was a kin

The Moghul Emperors of India as friends of Literature.

of academy, where men of literature, secular and religious, and men of art and science, met under the patronage of the rulers. Their patronage and encourage-

¹ *Ibid.* Vide my Gujarati History of the Parsee Panchayat of Bombay, in two volumes, Vol. I, Preface page V.

² The years of the rule of the early Moghul rulers were as follows—Baber 1525 to 1530; Humayun 1530 to 1556; Akbar 1556 to 1605; Jehangir 1605 to 1627; Shah Jehan 1627 to 1658 and Aurungzeb 1658 to 1707.

ment drew many outsiders to India, not only to the Royal Courts, but to the country in general. The period of the Moghul rule was a splendid period in various ways. It was specially a period of literary advancement. Most of them wrote, or got written under their own personal instructions. their memoirs. Humayun was a lover of books and he is said to have carried his own chosen library wherever he went, even in his wars and flights¹ after defeat. His successors inherited that love of books and they encouraged the cause of Persian literature. Akbar the Great, though said to be illiterate—and his illiteracy has been defended by his great Minister Abu Fazal²—was a great friend of literature and arts.

Akbar was more or less a mystic from his boyhood.

Akbar as a Mystic. At the boyish age of 15, he is said to have "mounted a specially vicious Irākī horse, named Haīrān, and rode off, leaving orders that nobody, not even a groom, should follow him. He dismounted and was supposed to have 'assumed the posture of communing with his God'.....Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sūfi friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality, and now and again believed or fancied that he had succeeded. His temperament was profoundly melancholic, and there seems to be some reason to suspect that, at times, he was not far from the danger of falling into a state of religious mania".³

1 *Vide* my paper on a Petition in Persian verse by Dastur Kaikobad of Naosari to Emperor Jehangir (Jour. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 13. *Vide* my "Dastur Kaikobad Mahiyar's Petition to Jehangir and Laudatory Poem to Khurram (Shah Jehan)", p. 103.

2 *Vide* my paper on "King Akbar and the Persian translations of Sanskrit books" before the 1st Oriental Conference at Poona (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (1924-25), Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 84-107). 3 Smith's 'Akbar, the Great Moghul,' p. 160.

Vincent Smith, further on, thus sums up Akbar's religious views: "His religious speculations and vagaries rested primarily on the fact that he was born with the mystic temperament. Even in the early years of his reign, when he was a zealous pilgrim to the shrines of the saints, a generous builder of mosques, and a willing persecutor of unorthodox theologians, his orthodoxy was modified by a strain of mysticism based chiefly on the writings of the Persian Sufi poets. Later in life he came in more under the influence of Hindu pantheistic doctrine, which has close affinities with Sufi teaching. Throughout all phases he seems always to have cherished the mystic's ideal of close and direct communion with God, unobscured by priestly intervention or disputable dogmas..... He remained a mystic to the end."¹

Among the various activities of the time of Akbar, one was in the matter of religion. His

The religious fervour of Akbar's time drew Azar Kaiwan and his disciples to India.

zeal for an eclectic religion was well known. It had been known far and wide. It drew towards India the attention of many foreigners. Some of these

foreigners were attracted direct to his Royal Court, and some to other parts of the country. Akbar was a religious-minded man who saw a religion behind all religions, who saw a God or *the* God, behind the gods of all religions. With this view, he secured the company of Hindu Yogis, Gurus and Sanyasis, Mahomedan Pirs and Fakirs, Christian fathers and clergymen and Parsee Dasturs and Mobads.

Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were among those who had come at this time to India, to the country of Sanyasis and Sadhus, Yogis and Fakirs. Akbar was born in 1542 A.C. and died in 1605. Azar Kaiwan was born in

1 *Ibid.* pp. 348-349.

1533 and died in 1613. So, he was his contemporary and was older than Akbar by nine years. In Persia itself, they were already drawn towards *riâzat* (ریاضت), towards abstemiousness and austerities which, they believed, were practised even by their ancient Peshdadian, Kayanian and Sassanian Kings. So, the talk of Akbar's religious frame of mind, of his inclination towards *riâzat*, Yog, and such other matters, and of his converse with people who practised these, seem to have drawn to India many people of Akbar's tendency of mind. Among these were Azar Kaiwan and his disciples.

Azar Kaiwan does not seem to have come into any contact with the court of Akbar. Some of his disciples had come to Akbarabad (Agra). But his and his follower's head-quarters during the time were at Patna. It was the religious fervour of the time in India, due to the influence of the eclectic trend of mind of Akbar, that seems to have drawn the mystic-minded Zoroastrians of Persia to India, but for his head-quarters, Azar Kaiwan chose Patna.

The reason, why Azar Kaiwan and his disciples made Patna their head-quarters is not quite clear. But, we know, that Patna was one of the old centres of Buddhist belief. At Panj Pahari (Five Hills), about half a mile south of Patna, there stood some old ruins. The old palace of Chandragupta's Pataliputra stood at Kumrahâr near Patna. The ruins are the remnants of old Buddhist stupas or Jain cupolas. Some of the ruins are said to have been of the times of the Nandas who preceded Chandragupta. Some of the earliest remains of Buddhism in India are in the Rajagriha Hills of the Patna District. So, it seems that Patna may have become, in Azar Kaiwan's time, a seat of old Indian philosophy and mysticism.

III

AUTHORITIES FOR AN ACCOUNT OF AZAR
KAIWAN AND HIS DISCIPLES.

Our main authorities for an account of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples is the Persian Dabistan, written in India. Besides this, there are the smaller works of some of his disciples, of which I will speak later on, which give some insight into their work. I will here speak of the Dabistan, known as the Dabistan-i-Mazâhab (دبستان مذاهب), i.e., the School of Religious Creeds. The word Dabistan is a contraction of Pahlavi Dapiristan (𐭢𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥), or Dabiristan.¹

Among Persian books relating to mystic sects and beliefs and austere practices (ریاضت), The Dabistan. I think the Dabistan and the Desatir are more known than any other book in Northern India and perhaps in the city of Patna. I myself have heard much of the Dabistan, in my travels in Northern India, even in the distant Kashmir, during my three visits of the beautiful valley. They were taken in the last century, to a great extent, and, even now, to a certain extent, to be two Parsi or semi-Parsi books. Both have been translated into Gujarati for the Parsis. The present Parsi students refer more to the English translation by Shea and Troyer than to the Gujarati translation with an invocation to God in Persian and Pahlavi², by Mobed

1 Steingass thinks that it may also be a contraction of P. Adabistân (ادبستان), a place where *adab*, i.e., politeness, or good breeding, is taught.

2 Dabistan-ul-Mazâhab, published in 1815 at Bombay. The second edition appeared in 1845. Of this translator, Fardunji Murzbanji, his grandson Mr. Kaekobad Byramji Marzban, in his life of his grandfather “ 𐭢𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭢𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, 𐭢𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭢𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, 𐭢𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭢𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, 𐭢𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ” says, that he himself was much of a

Fardunji Murzbanji, the pioneer of the Gujarati press in India. I will quote here what I have said elsewhere¹ about these two books: "Had it not been for the honoured name of Sir William Jones, 'the Columbus of the new Old World of Sanskrit and Persian literature', they would not have perhaps drawn that attention. Sir William Jones attached a good deal of importance to them, especially to the Dabistan, from the historical point of view. In his Asiatic Researches², he grew enthusiastic over the Dabistan and called its discovery 'a fortunate discovery' as dissipating a cloud and casting 'a gleam of light on the primeval history of Irān and of the human race', of which, he 'had long despaired and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter'."³ As the English translators say, "it was the state of religion, prevailing in those days in Hindostan, that he (the author) describes".⁴

At one time, one Mohsan Fani was taken to be the author of the Dabistan. Sir W. Jones took him to be so.⁵ Capt. Kennedy was the first to show that he was wrong.⁶ William Erskine supported him, on the autho-

Sādhū (of the type of Azar Kaiwan himself). તેઓ ખાદેપીવે અને રહેવે એક સાધુ જેવા હતા, i.e., "In his food, drink and living, he was like a Sādhū."

1 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S. during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view" (1905), p. 21.

2 Vol. II, pp. 43-66. The sixth Discourse on the Persians, delivered on 19th February 1789.

3 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," p. 21.

4 Shea and Troyer, Translation, Vol. I, Preface, p. XV.

5 Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, p. 48.

6 Preliminary remarks in his paper, "Notice respecting the Religion introduced into India by the Emperor Akbar." Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 256-286.

rity of the Gul-i-Rana, or Charming Rose of Lachmi Narayen, who flourished in Hyderabad.¹ Dastur Mulla Feroze supported them and explained, how the mistake arose. Mohsan Fani, having been quoted in the very beginning of the Dabistan, was mistaken for the author.²

The Dabistan is not original in some of its contents. For example, in its chapter on the Shahi Din (Chapter X, Sec. 2) it has taken well-nigh verbatim³ some passages from Badaoni's Muntakab-al-Tavârikh. As to some particulars about the author, whoever he may be, we find the following particulars,⁴ as gathered from his work :—

(1) He had come to India as a child from Persia, where he was born in about 1615 A.C. (2) In 1618 A.C. (H. 1028), Mobad Hushiyâr, one of Azar Kaiwan's disciples, carried him as a child to Balk Nâtha (بالک ناتھ),⁵ a great Yogi, to receive his blessings. (3) In 1623 A.C. (H. 1033), he went from Patna to Akbarabad (Agra). Mobad Hushiyâr carried him in his arms as a boy when he took him to Chatur Vapah (چتر وہ), an ascetic of the Nagar⁶ Brahmins (ناگر برہمن). (4) Between 1627 and 1643, he moved about, now and then, between Kashmir and Lahore. (5) Between 1634 and 1649, he visited several towns of Punjab and Gujarat. (6) When

1 *Ibid.* II, pp. 395-398. *Vide* p. 398.

2 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," p. 127-28.

3 *Vide* my paper on "The Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, No. 58, pp. 83-85.) *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," (1903), pp. 15-17.

4 *Vide* Shea and Troyer's account in the preface of the Translation of Dabistan, pp. XIII ff. 5 Bombay Ed. p. 152, l. 9.

6 Shea and Troyer are wrong in giving the name as Naga instead of Nagar (Vol. II, p. 142).

in Gujarat, he seems to have gone to Naosari, and to have had a talk, when there, with the well-known compiler of the Rivâyats, Dastur Burzo Kamdin. He may have got some information about Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism from this Burzo Kamdin.¹ (7) He was perhaps at Meshhad in 1643 and (8) at Sikakul in 1653. (9) He died in 1670, in the 11th year of the reign of Aurangzeb.

The Contents of
the Dabistan as
given by the
Author.

As to what the Dabistan contains
we read as follows in the book itself :

درین نامه موسوم بدبستان لختی از دانش و کنش و کیش
باستانی کرده و گفتار و کردار باز پسین انبوه از آشکارا
شناسان و نهان بین صورت پرست و معنی گزین بی کم و کاست
و بغض و حسد و اثبات و ابطال گزارده آمد²

Translation.—In this book, named Dabistan, there is given some account (lakhti) of the knowledge and work and manners of the ancients, and of the words and actions of the later ones (*i.e.*, the moderns) (as described) by those who know what is known and see what is hidden (and by) the worshippers of outward forms (*i.e.*, exoterics) and the choosers of inner meaning (*i.e.*, esoterics). (All this is given) without lessening or diminishing anything, without hatred (بغض) or jealousy and without corroborating (asbat) or refuting (abtāl).

The Dabistan is divided into seven teachings (*t'alim* The Divisions of (تعلیم). Of these, the first *t'alim* is on the the Dabistan. knowledge (m'arafat معرفت) of the faith

1 *Vide* my paper on "The Birth-place of Zoroaster" in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 9, pp. 75-78. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers," pp. 204-5.

2 Bombay Ed. p. 2, l. 9.

of the Parsis (عقاید پارسیان). This first chapter is divided into 15 views (*nazar* نظر)¹. The first *nazar* treats of the beliefs, of the learning (علی) and of the practices (عملی) of the Sipāsians (one of the 13 sects of the Persians). The second *nazar* speaks of the revealings of the great men (بزرگان) of the Sipāsians.

The other 13 *nazars* of the first division of the Parsees are the following:—

3. The followers of the Book of Âbâd (احکام آباد).
4. Jamshâspis (جمشاسپیان).
5. Samradis (سمرادیان).
6. Khodânis (خدانیان).
7. Râdis (رادیان).
8. Shidrangis (شیدرنگیان).
9. Paekeris (پیکریان).
10. Milânis (میلانیان).
11. Alaris (الاریان).
12. Shidâbis (شیدابیان).
13. Akhshis (اکشیان).
14. Zardashtis (زردشتیان).
15. Mazdakis (مزدکیان).

The first sect, the Sipāsians, are also generally spoken of as the Parsees (پارسیان). They are also called Iranians (ایرانیان). Among these, there is a sect (perhaps a sub-sect) which is known as Yazdis (ایزدیان) or Yezdanis (یزدانیان) or Abâdis (آبادیان) or Sepasis (سپاسیان) or Hushis (هوشیان) or Anushagân (انوشگان) or Âzar Hushangyans (آذر هوشگیان) or Azaris (آذریان).

¹ Shea and Troyer translate *t'alim* and *nazar* freely as Chapter and Section.

This division and sub-divisions show that, among the Parsees or Persians, there were several sects of various beliefs.

IV

SOURCES OF MATERIALS FOR THE FIRST CHAPTER (ON THE PERSIANS) OF THE DABISTAN.

From what the author of the Dabistan says, at the very end of his book,¹ it appears, that he met (بهمر سیدند) learned representatives of the five great religions—the religions² of the Hindus (هندو), Jews (یهود), Magis (مجوس), Christians (نصارا) and Mahomedans (مسلمان) and learnt from them. He then wrote this book. In the matter of the very first chapter (تعلیم نخست) on the religion of the Parsiân (غیاث پارسیان), he quotes, now and then, a number of their writings. They are the following³ :—

1. Amighân (امیغان)⁴.
2. Desatir (دساتیر)⁵.
3. Dârâ-i-Askandar (دارای اسکندر)⁶ by Dâvar Hûryâr (داور هوریار) who was of the Kiyan (کیان) sect and a follower of the Yazdâniân faith.
4. Akhtarastân (اخترستان)⁷.

1 Bombay Ed. p. 334, l. 12.

2 *Ibid.* l. 16.

3 *Vide* Shea and Troyer's Vol. I, Preface p. XVII. *Vide* the Bombay Ed. of the text for the names in Persian, pp. 7, 8, 12, 24, 25, 35, 37.

4 *Vide* Shea and Troyer, Introduction page XVII. It gives the name as Amighastân. Bombay Ed. p. 7, l. 2.

5 *Ibid.* p. 8, l. 11.

6 *Ibid.* p. 12, l. 12.

7 *Ibid.* l. 19.

5. Jashan-e-Sadeh (جشن سده) by Mobad Hushiyâr¹. (هوشیار).
6. Sarûd-i-Mastân (سرود مستان) by Mobad Hâshiyâr².
7. Jâm-i-Kaikhusrû (جام کیخسرو) by Mobad Khudâ Jui (خدا جوی)³. It is a commentary (شرح) on the poetical writings (منظومه) of Azar Kaiwan.
8. Shârastân (شارستان)⁴ by Farzaneh Behram ebn Farhâd (فرزانه بهرام ابن فرهاد). This book is called "Sharastan-i-Dânesh va Gulistân-i-Binash"⁵ (شارستان دانش و گلستان بینش).
9. Zardasht Afshâr (زردشت افشار) by Mobad Sarush (سروش)⁶.
10. Nosh Dârû (نوش دارو), i.e., pleasing drink) by the above Mobad Sarush⁷.
11. Sagangbin (سنگنبین)⁸, i.e., Oxymel, a mixture of vinegar (سرکه) and honey (انکین), also by the above Mobad Sarush.
12. Bazam gâh (بزگاه)⁹, place of assembly. Shea and Troyer say (Vol. I, p. XVIII) that the name of the author is not known; but, I think, it seems that he was Farzaneh Khushi (فرزانه خوشی) whose name is mentioned before its name¹⁰ (فرزانه خوشی میگفت و هم در بزگاه آورده).
13. Arzang Mani (ارزنگ مانی) i.e., the house or the gallery of Mâni, by Farzaneh Behram, son of

1 Bombay Ed. p. 24, l. 5.

2 *Ibid.* p. 25, l. 18. 3 *Ibid.* p. 25, l. 18. 4 *Ibid.* l. 21.

5 A City of Knowledge and Rose-garden of Sight. *Ibid.* p. 35, ll. 21-22. 6 *Ibid.* p. 26, l. 7.

7 Bom. Ed. p. 37, l. 13. 8 *Ibid.* The word is also written

سنگین.

9 *Ibid.* p. 34, l. 12.

10 *Ibid.* 22

Farhād, who was known as the small (کوچک) younger) or junior Bahram.¹

14. Tapreh-i-Mobadi (تپره موبدي), i.e., the Kettle-drum of the Mobads,² by Mobad Paristar (پرستار).
15. Dādistan-Aurseh (دادستان اورسه)³.
16. Āmiz-i-Farhang (آمیز فرهنگ)⁴ which treats of the Abadiyeh Derwishes (درویشان آبادیه).
17. Mihin Farosh⁵. هین فروش
18. Andarz-i Jamshid ba Ābtin (اندرز جمشید بآبتین), i.e., Admonitions of Jamshed to Ābtin, by Farhang Dastur (فرهنگ دستور)⁶.

Shea and Troyer in their text (Preliminary Discourse, p. XVIII) name the next as No. 19 "Razabad composed by Shidab". The name Shidab is Shidah (شیده)⁷ as properly given by them in the Index (Vol. III, p. 373, col. 2). But I do not think that is a separate authority. Again, as usual, these translators do not give the reference in the preliminary discourse. In the reference given by them in the Index, we do not find the name of the authority as Razabad. So, there seems to be some mistake on their part.

19. Samrād Nāmeḥ (سمراد نامه), by Kāmgar (کامگار)⁸.

1 Bombay Ed. p. 40, ll. 6-7.

2 *Ibid.* p. 40, l. 20. It gives the name as دتپره Datapreh which is evidently a mistake. The د dal is added by mistake.

3 *Ibid.* p. 43, ll. 18-19. 4 *Ibid.* p. 48, l. 11. Shea and Troyer give the name as Amizash (Vol. I, p. 145).

5 This book, according to the Dabistan, speaks of a miracle of Zoroaster, not spoken of elsewhere, of Zoroaster keeping two evil-minded persons hanging in the air (Shea I, p. 244).

6 *Ibid.* p. 64, l. 20.

7 *Ibid.* p. 64, l. 20.

8 *Ibid.* p. 66, l. 19.

20. Ramzastân (رزمستان) by Zardust¹.

The known
books in the list
of the Dabistan.

Out of all the twenty books mentioned in the above list² the following four are known :—

1. The Desatir (No. 2).
2. The Jam-i-Kaikhusrû (No. 7) by Mobad Khuda Jui.
3. The Sharistan-i-Dânesîh va Gulistan-i-Binash (No. 8), *i.e.*, the City of Knowledge and the Garden of Sight, by Farzaneh Behram. I think that it is the same as that known as the "Sharistan-i-Chehar Chaman".
4. The Zardasht Afshâr (No. 9), by Mobad Sarosh.

The English translators of the Dabistan, after enumerating the books, say that "of the twenty-three books just enumerated, a part of the third³ only is known to us, namely, that of the Desatir."⁴ But they are mistaken. Three more also are known. I will briefly speak of these four.

As to the Desatir, referred to as an authority by the Dabistan, it was first brought to the notice of the learned public of India and then of Europe, by Dastur Mulla Feroze of Bombay, whose father Kâus had purchased a manuscript copy of it in 1778 A.C. at Isphahan. It was first published in two volumes, in 1818 A.C., by Mulla Feroze. The glossary of difficult and rare words was given by Mulla Feroze himself, and the English translation was given, with the help of Mulla Feroze, by Mr. William Erskine,

1 *Ibid.* p. 111, l. 17.

2 Shea and Troyer give the names of three more.

3 They make a mistake. It is the second in their list.

4 The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, Preface, p. XIX

the then Chief Police Officer of Bombay, who was requested by Sir John Malcolm, the then Governor of Bombay, to undertake the work. The first volume contains (a) the text of the Desatir in its original, in, what is called, a heavenly language, (b) translation and commentary in Persian, by Sasan V, and (c) the above said glossary. The second volume contains Erskine's translation.

When Jonathan Duncan, the then Governor of Bombay, first came to know of it, he "considered himself as supremely fortunate in having at length made the longed-for discovery."¹ He requested Mulla Feroze "to show it to no person whatever, and, having undertaken a translation of it, continued to prosecute his work, at intervals, for several years, intending, on his return to England, to present it to His Majesty as the most valuable tribute which he could bring from the East".² But Duncan died in Bombay, before he could finish the translation. The discovery of the book in Bombay was made much of, even by Marquis Hastings, the then Governor-General of India, who, during his "public visitation" of the College of Fort William on the 15th July 1816 spoke of it as a "literary curiosity".³ But William Erskine began his work by setting this book in its proper position, as a book of no special importance in throwing any authentic light upon the history and religion of ancient Persia. The author of the book is not known, but he seems to have been a Mobad or Parsee priest.

The late Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, who

1 Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, p. 368. 2 *Ibid.* p. 369. *Vide* the Desatir (1818 A.C.) I, Preface p. VIII. The Gujarati Ed. of 1848, Preface p. IX.

3 The Desatir (1818 A.C.) I, Preface p. VI.

studied the subject of the Desatir thoroughly, nearly a century after the first discussion on it, thus sums up his views: "It is erroneous to reckon the Desatir as one of the genuine Zoroastrian writings, as it is neither coeval with the Avesta nor with the writings of the earlier Sasanian times. It is decidedly a production of still later times. Although its teaching is professedly antagonistic to the Mosaic, the Christian, the Manichean, the Mazdakian, and the Muhammadan doctrines, it does not also wholly agree with all the doctrines of Zoroastrianism. Its tendency is more towards the Hindu, Buddhistic and Platonic philosophies. For example, it prohibits the use of animal flesh as food, and encourages asceticism, self-mortification, celibacy, and renouncement of the world. Its treatment of the dead body by washing it with pure and rose water, and interring or burning it, is diametrically opposed to that of Zoroastrianism, to which all these methods are repugnant. It also considerably differs from the Zoroastrian writings in points of chronology,¹

1 For an example of the calculation of time by the Dabistan, which often takes the Desatir as its authority, we have the following figures (Bombay Ed. p. 6, ll. 17-22. Shea and Troyer's translation Vol. I, p. 14):—

One Revolution of the Saturn کیوان (یک دور حضرت) = 1 day (روز)

„ „ 30 days = a month (ماه)

„ „ 12 months = a year (سال)

(هزار هزار) one million years = 1 Fird (فرد)

(هزار بار) „ Fard = 1 Verd (ورد)

„ Vard = 1 Mard (مرد)

„ Mard = 1 Jâd (جاد)

3000 Jâd = 1 Dâd (داد)

2000 Dâd = 1 Zâd (زاد)

Shea and Troyer give the word *dad* as *vâd*.

mythology and history; and its so-called *âsmâni*, or celestial language, is decidedly a conventional jargon composed of later Pahlavi, Persian and Hindi dialects. The very syntax of the *Dasatir* betrays its recent origin. When we consider all these points we cannot put it in the category of the reliable orthodox Zoroastrian writings".¹

I will quote here, what I have said of the *Desatir*, elsewhere², as giving my views about it: "Now, what is it, that the *Desatir* wants to teach us? It is something, that is Zoroastrian, and something, that is Brahminic and Buddhistic. It is, to a certain extent, *sufeistic* in its teachings. It contains the mystic ideas found in Zoroastrianism, Brahminism and Buddhism. It is a book of a certain sect of believers, who, now and then, appear in different countries, and in different ages, and who look to, what is called, the esoteric side of things, as opposed to the exoteric, and who look to the mystic side of almost all religions for their elements of belief. Erskine's estimate of the *Desatir* is well-nigh correct, when he says: 'Far from regarding the doctrines of the *Desatir* and the historical narrative of the *Dabistan* as resting on unexceptionable authority..... I consider the whole of the peculiar doctrine ascribed to Mahabad and Hoshang as being borrowed from the mystical doctrines of the Persian Sufis and from the ascetic tenets and practices of the Yogis and Sanyasis of India, who drew many of their opinions from the *Vadanti School*'.³"

1 The *Dasatir*, being a paper prepared for the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva in 1894 A.C., by Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha (1907), p. 27.

2 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society," p. 23.

3 *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol II, p. 393.

The word Desatir is plural of *dastur* (دستور), i.e., a rule, a canon, a learned man. The Pers. plural would be Dasturân. So, some scholars argue, that it cannot be an old Persian book. Other readings are Destânir in one manuscript.¹ The Bombay edition in one place gives it as Vasatir (وساتير).² In this name the د (dal) may have been misread as و (vâv). In the Desatir we read vâdan (وادن) for dâdan (دادن) and vâram (وارم) for dâram (دارم).

The Dabistan quotes Desatir as a work of the Sipâsians, i.e., "the adherents of the most ancient religion of Persia." As to the time when the Desatir was written, the Persian translator and commentator of the Desatir is said to be Sâsân-i Panjûm, i.e., the 5th Sassan,³ who is said to have lived in the times of Khusru Parviz. If that be so, the Persian rendering was in the 7th century A.C. The original Desatir, in its peculiar language in that case, must be taken as having been written long before that. But the linguistic examination of the old language does not permit us, as pointed out by Mr. Sheriarji Bharucha, to place it in very olden times.

Mr. Norris speaks of the old language as "nothing more than 'Deri disguised'."⁴ He also speaks of it as an invented jargon. Sylvestre de Sacy decided against the antiquity of the book and its language.⁵ William

1 Shea and Troyer's Translation, Vol. I, p. 20, n. 1.

2 Bom. Ed. p. 8, l. 11.

3 The 1st Sassan is said to have flourished in the times of Alexander the Great, i.e., about 323 B.C.

4 The Asiatic Journal for November 1820, Vol. X, pp. 421-430. The article of Norris is quoted in full by Dastur Kekobad, the successor of Mulla Feroze, in his Gujarati Edition of 1848 A.C., Preface pp. XLI-XLVII.

5 Vide Shea and Troyer's Dabistan, I Preface p. XXXVI.

von Schlegel called the language a "refined forgery."¹ I do not think, that the language may be called an intentional forgery. Some mystic writers aim at a kind of secrecy in the expression of their doctrines. So, in this book also, the author used, what he thought to be a mystic dialect made up from the dialects of the different regions, from which he drew his mystic tenets.²

The second known book is Jam-i Kaikhusru. The

2. Jām-i-Kaikhusru.

Persian text of this book was published in 1848 by Sayad Abdul Fattah, *urfe* Mir

Ashrafally (عبد الفتاح المعروف سيد اشرف على) in 1848, at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, under the title of کتاب جام کی خسرو شرح مکاشفات آذر کیوان تصنیف خدا جوی ابن نامدار. It also contains a Gujarati translation bearing the title: અકાશકાંતે એવાની અથવા અમે કેમશરો.

As to the object for writing this book, the author Khuda Jui says: "Several Yazdaniāns wished from me (who am) a wine bibler⁴ (a drunkard) and a seeker of the light of God,⁵ by name Khuda Jui Nāmdār, that I may write a commentary upon the revelations (*mushāhadāt*) of the king or leader of the philosophers of the 'Ishraqi Sect' (*i.e.*, the Illuminati), who is Azar Kaiwan." Khuda Jui accepted the request. As one of those, who requested him to write the book, was Kaikhusru, son of Kaiwan, he named (موسوم ساخت) the book Jām-i-Kaikhusru.

1 *Ibid.* p. XLV.

2 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A.S.," p. 25.

3 *Makāshafāt*, "revelations, ecstasies, ecstatic contemplations of God."

4 بادہ نوش, lit., a drinker of wine. Here, the word wine is used in the Sufistic sense of "divine knowledge."

5 بزم انوار Bazam, in Arabic, means "biting with the front teeth, milking with the forefinger, stealing a garment" (*Steingass*). The word in a Sufistic sense means 'a seeker of knowledge'.

The mention of the name of Kaiwan here, as the father of Kaikhusru who was a leading man, after Dastur Azar Kaiwan of the Ishraqi sect, to which Dastur Azar Kaiwan belonged, had led some, for example, Dastur Edalji D. Sanjana, to mistake him to be the son of Dastur Azar Kaiwan. But this Kaiwan and Azar Kaiwan are different persons. The book consists of 4 *gushasbs* (گشسب), *i.e.*, Splendour or Light. The first *gushasb* is on visions or dreams (رؤيا *ruyâ*). The second is on hidden or mystic subjects (حالت غيب). The third is on the condition of recovering from ecstatic conditions (حالت محو). And the fourth is on drawing out one's soul from the body (خلع). The first *gushasb* is divided into 11 *farugs* (فروغ) or Lights. Though this work is written by Azar Kaiwan's disciple, Khuda Jui, it may be taken as containing a writing of Azar Kaiwan himself, because, it is a commentary on a work of Azar Kaiwan. The book therefore is ordinarily known as *Makashafat-i-Kaiwan* (مکاشفات کیوان), *i.e.*, Revelations of Kaiwan. The author of the book was, as said above, Mobad Khuda Jui (خداجوی), *i.e.*, one in search of God. The text, which the English translators of the Dabistan have followed, gives the name as Khuda Jâi, (*i.e.*, the place of God or one who makes God his place). But, the name Khuda Jui seems to be more significant. The Bombay edition gives it as Khuda Jui. Not only that, but the Persian text of the book itself, which, Shea and Troyer, as they themselves seem to say¹, had not seen, also gives the name as Khuda Jui.²

The Sharistân is spoken of in the Dabistan as Shar-
 3. The Sharistân. ristân-i-Dānesh va Gulistân-i-Binash,
 (*i.e.*, City of Wisdom and Garden of

1 Vol. I, Preface p. XIX.

2 The Bombay Ed. of Abdul Fattah (1848), *Vide* Persian title-page l. 3; *Vide* also 1st page of Pers. preface l. 9.

Sight). It is the same as the Sharistan, ordinarily known as the Sharistan-i-Chehâr Chaman (*i.e.*, the City of Four Gardens).¹ It also is said to have been written by Farzaneh Behram bin Farhad Aspandiyar Parsi (بهرام بن فرهاد اسفندیار پارسى). The author, with some others, had Farzâneh (فرزانه) prefixed to his name as a title. The author² was a well known disciple of Azar Kaiwan. He traced his descent from Godrez Keshwâd, the Prime Minister of Kaikhusru. The proper old Pahlavi form of Sharistan³ is 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 Shatrostân. The proper Persian form would be Shehrastân (شهرستان). The author was a

1 Manuscript of the Mulla Feroze Library, presented by Bai Shirinbai, the widow of Mr. Merwanji Khodabakhsh (Catalogue by Edward Rehatzek, VIII, 56, p. 204), folio 2a, l. 13. The Mulla Feroze Library has a manuscript of the version, not a full translation, of this work by Dastur Edulji Darabji Rustomji Sanjana, in, what he called, the Hindi, *i.e.*, Gujarati language. It is a free version with comments, here and there, of the translator (દશદુર એકલ બીન દશદુર દારીય બીન રસતમ બીન બેદુરામ લક્ષ્મી શાસ્ત્રી). The Ms. of the version has, in all, 548 folios, *i.e.*, 1096 pages, written in a beautiful Gujarati hand. It was presented to the Library in 1914, by the late Mr. Jamshedjee Bomanjee Wadia, a Trustee of the Wadia Fire Temple, of which the translator was the Dastur. The Library has another Ms. in Persian dated 1029, *maḥ* 3, year 1179, written at the direction of Khodabax Meherban of Yazd (The above catalogue, *ibid.* No. 57, *vide f.* 251a for the date).

2 For an account of the author as given in the Dabistan, *vide* below.

3 A lithographed text is published in Bombay in (Yazdazardi) 1223, *i.e.*, 1854 A.C., by Shiavakhsh ibn Hormuzdiyar Yazdani Irani, p. 664, l. 12. Its title runs thus, as given in English: "Shâristân-i Chehâr Chaman by Furzane Behram bin Furhad, published by Behdin Shiavux bin Hormuzdyar Irani, Bombay. Lithographed at Dadoomiya's Press, in the year of Zoroaster 2243, Yezdjerd 1223, A.D. 1854," p. 1. This title page is preceded by 6 prefatory pages in Persian, wherein the publisher says (p. 5, l. 14) that he was helped by Mr. Manockji Sorabji Ashuran (Ashburner).

learned Zoroastrian, versed in Arabic also. He quotes from the Koran also.¹

The work has four *chamans*. By *chaman* or garden, the author means a division. The four *chamans* of the first *chaman* treats of Creation. The Sharistân.

second treats of the Kayanian kings and other miscellaneous advices. The third *chaman* treats of the Askanians and the Sassanians. The fourth *chaman* is said to have treated of Azar Kaiwan and of his ancestors and of their mystic practices. But, it (the fourth *chaman*) does not exist, because the Dabistan itself is supposed to form the fourth *chaman*. Dastur Edalji D. Sanjana says :—“તે મધે ચમન કે તરણ રેહ્યાં છે અને ચોથું ચમન છે જ નહીં પણ અમોએ કેતાબનો તરજુમાનો કરનાર અરબ કશું છે કે જે અમોએ અમારા ઉશતાદે રશત મજથી સાંભલીકે છે કે ચોથું ચમન તે દબેશતાનની કેતાબ છે. પણ તે કેતાબ તમામ હીન્દુ લોકોના મજહૂબ પરમાણુ છે પછી તે એ વાત યુદ્ધને માલુમ છે.”² Dastur Edalji says, in this passage, that, out of the four *chamans*, only three exist. The fourth does not exist at all, but he had heard it from his teacher (ustād), Rustamji, that the Dabistan itself formed the fourth *chaman* and that it was all according to the Hindu religion. His teacher was his grand-father Rustumji, a learned Dastur of his time.

This seems to be a very important statement, and it seems to lead to the solution of the question, as to who the author of the Dabistan was. It seems to say, that Farzaneh Behram was the author of the Dabistan. But, in that case, one may say: “How can then Farzaneh Behram speak of himself, in the Dabistan, in the list of Azar Kaiwan’s disciples, in the third person?” But we must not judge of olden authors and of their old ways of writing by our present standard.

1 Bombay Ed. p. 3, l. 2. Dastur Edalji Sanjana’s version, fol. 3a, l. 15.

2 Folio 6b, l. 16, of Dastur Edalji’s version.

Zardasht Afshâr (زردشت افشار) was written by Mobad Sarosh ibn Kaiwân ibn Kâmgâr.¹ This book, with two other books on similar subjects, was published in the Durbin Press of Bombay, at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.² Then, Sir Jamsetjee got it translated, by Mobad Dossabhai Sohrabji Munshi, and published in 1848 at the Jam-i-Jamshed Press. The other two Persian treatises, published and translated with this, are Khishtab and Zindeh-rod. The Gujarati translation bears the name, “કેતાબે ખેશતાબ ઝરદેશત અફશાર તથા અનદેહ રોદ.” The book was published by the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund.³ As I have not come across the original Persian, I will say here a few words about it, on the authority of the above Gujarati version. According to the translation, the author blesses, among others, one Kaikhusru Asfandiyar : આએ જમાનાનો ઈમામ કેખશરો અશકંદીઆર, કે જે હજરત આજર કબેવાનનો બેટો છે તે ઉપર (દરદ) હેબે.⁴ Here he speaks of Kaikhusru, as the son of Azar Kaiwan. This is, as pointed out by me above, a mistake.

The author says that Azar Kaiwan himself named it as “Zar-i-dasht Afshâr,” and adds in a foot-note, that Zar-i-Dasht Afshâr was a certain gold (zar) in the treasury of Khusru Purviz (તે એક ભત્તનું શોનું જે ખશરો પરવેજના ખબનામાં હતું તે મીનતી મીસાલે નરમ હતું અને તે શોનાથી જેવી મુરતી બનાવવા ચાહતા હતા તેવી બનતી હતી.)

Thus, it was a kind of malleable gold that seems

1 Bom. Ed. p. 261, l. 27 ; p. 37, l. 6.

2 Vide ખેશતાબ-ઝરદેશત અફશાર તથા અનદેહ રોદ, by Mobad Dossabhai Sorabji Munshi (1848), p. 11. I have not come across its Persian text.

3 Vide my Gujarati History of the Parsi Panchayat, Vol. II, p. 827.

4 P. 2 of the second part of the Gujarati book.

to have given its name to the book.¹ So, if we accept the significance, the word Dasht, in the words Dasht Afshâr may perhaps be Persian Dasht (دشت), meaning "dry musk", and afshâr (افشار) may mean "squeezing out". But the significance seems to be doubtful. The English translators of the Dabistan mean by Zardasht Afshâr, "the companion (afshâr) of Zardusht". But, on looking to the contents of the book, as given in the Gujarati work, I do not find any reason or ground to associate it with Zardusht or Zoroaster. The work is divided into 37 parts called Qual, i.e., words.

V

AZAR KAIWAN.

Now I will give some particulars about Azar Kaiwan and his disciples as mainly collected from the Dabistan. According to the Dabistan², Azar Kaiwan was the chief (سر) of the modern or the last (متاخرين) Âbadian or Azar Hushangian sect (گروه).

His ascending genealogy was as follows: Azar Kaiwan

Azar Kaiwan's Pedigree. —Azar Gushasb—Azar Zardusht—Azar Barzin—Azar Khûrîn—Azar Âin (آئين)—Azar Behrâm—Azar Nûsh—Azar Mehtar—the younger (کهنتر) Azar Sassan, called the 5th Sassan—the elder Azar Sassan³, called the 4th Sassan—the young Azar Sassan, called the 3rd Azar Sassan—elder Azar Sassan, known as the 2nd Sassan—the Great (سترگ) Azar

1 For a towel made of such gold in the treasury of Khusru Parviz, vide my paper "Eighteen remarkable Things or Events of the Reign of Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II) of Persia" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. II (New Series), No. 2, p. 124. Vide my Asiatic Papers, Part IV, p. 32). 2 2nd Nazar, Bombay Ed., p. 29, l. 8.

3 The word آين in the Bombay ed. p. 29, l. 10, is a mistake for ابن.

Sassan, called the 1st Azar Sassan—young (خورد) Darab—old Darab—Bahman—Asfandiyâr—Gustâsp—Luh râsp—Arvand—Kai Nashin—Kaikobad—Zâb—Nodar—Minochehr—Irach of the descent from Faridun—Âbtin of the descent from Jamshed—Tehmuras—Hushang—Siâmak—Kayomars—Yasân Ajâm of the descent from Yasân—Shai Mahbul of the descent from Shai Kaliv—Jai Alâd of the descent from Jai Afrâm—Abâd Azad of the descent from Meh Abad, who had appeared and become resplendent in the beginning of the great cycle¹. (مین چرخ).

The mother of Azar Kaiwan was Shirin, the daughter of Humayun Nami², who was descended from Khusru, the Just (Dâdgar) Noshirwan.

It is said that, from his very fifth year, Azar Kaiwan began having less food and sleep. We Azar Kaiwan's began having less food and sleep. We
Mysticism and read : آذر کیوان بازل³ تا ئید⁴ و یزدانی نیرو از پنج
Retirement. یداری برداخت⁵

i.e., سالگی بکم خوری و شب بیداری برداخت⁵
Azar Kaiwan, with eternal help and divine strength, took to less eating and wakefulness, from his age of five.

He reduced his food to the weight of one diram⁶ (درم وزن)⁷. For 28 years, he sat in Khum (درخوم نشست).

1 Bombay Ed. p. 29, l. 16. Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

2 Nâmi may be an adjective, *i.e.*, the well-known.

3 Azali, eternity. 4 Ta'yid, help.

5 Bom. Ed. p. 29, l. 18. 6 *Ibid.* l. 20.

7 *Ibid.* l. 22. Shea and Troyer translate as "the abode in Khum," as if Khum was the name of a place; but *khum* here is a common noun, meaning a jar. In my copy of the Bombay lithographic edition (p. 29, l. 22) a reader has properly put down the meaning in Gujarati as *મિટ*, *i.e.*, an earthen pot. Such postures formed a rule for those who practised riâzat. The word seems to have been miswritten as *خوم* in place of *خم*. This story of Azar Kaiwan living in a *khum* or jar reminds us of the story of Parshadgô Khambyân of the Bundeshesh

In his later days, he came to India from Iran, and remained here for some time in the city of Patna (پٹنہ). He died there in 1027 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1617-18 A.C. He lived for 85 years and always practised *ri'āzat*.

The Dabistan then gives some further particulars on Azar Kaiwan's the authority of the Sharistan of Farzaneh Behram (شارستان فرزانه بهرام). It says that Azar Kaiwan from the very beginning (در نخست), *i.e.*, boyhood, sought knowledge.

So, the great philosophers (علمای سترگ) of Yunān, Hind and Pars (Greece, India and Persia) appeared to him, in dreams (*khāb*), and instructed him with all kinds of knowledge. Once, when he was at Madresseh (school), he answered there all questions and solved all difficulties. So, he was named Zu-l-ulm (ذوالعلوم), *i.e.*, Master of Sciences. According to the Dabistan, Sayyad Hasan Shirazi (سید حسن شیرازی), a learned pious man, tells the following story about Azar Kaiwan: Once, two followers of Sufism (متصوفین) met Azar Kaiwan, and discussed with him some questions as oppositionists (راه انکار ذوالعلوم پیش گرفتند) and did not treat him well with respect. Their teacher, one night, saw in dream the Prophet, who asked him to tell his disciples that Azar Kaiwan¹ is a man perfect in divine knowledge (کامل و رسیده). The Holy Prophet said many words of praise for Azar Kaiwan and asked the teacher to see him personally. Sayyad Hasan says, that the *murshid*, *i.e.*, the teacher, repeated in his ecstasy (سکر) several times the above mentioned panegyric (ستایش), uttered by the Prophet, and that he put that down in writing. On being free from his sleep of ecstasy (Chap. XXIX, 5, the Fradhakhsti Khunbya of the Farvardin Yasht, 138. *Vide* my Bundelesh, pp. 146-147) who was believed to have been brought up in a *khum*.

1 Shea and Troyer here give the name as Ali Kaiwan, but the Bombay Ed. (p. 30, l. 15) gives the name correctly as Azar Kaiwan.

(خواب یخودی), the teacher awoke (انگشت) the Sayyad and inquired, as to who Azar Kaiwan in the city was, before whom the Prophet had asked him to go. The Sayyad said that since some time past, he had come from Istakhar (اسطخر). The teacher asked the Sayyad to take him to Azar Kaiwan. But the Sayyad did not know where he lived. However, both started to find him out. When they proceeded a little, Farhad (فرهاد), a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, met them and said, that Azar Kaiwan wanted them and that he had sent him, to show them the way. When they went to Azar Kaiwan, the teacher had thought of first saluting him; but before he could do so, Azar Kaiwan saluted him in Persian and began to converse in Arabic. They were surprised (فروماندم). The teacher then described his dream to Azar Kaiwan who asked him to keep the matter secret (برده ازين راز برمفكنيد). The teacher, on going home, directed his two disciples to be respectful to Azar Kaiwan.

According to the Sharistan of Farzaneh Behram, Azar Kaiwan did not mix with people other than his disciples. He had the power of removing his soul (روان) from his body (تن) and of re-entering it. He forbade eating flesh and killing living animals and injuring animals (گوشت خوردن و جانور کشتن و جاندار آزردن).

Azar Kaiwan advised (a) that the beliefs of his sect may be kept secret, (b) that one must stick to his own faith² (برهمن عقیده باش که خدای تا اکنون آنچه خواست), and (c) that the knowledge of perishable thing is no knowledge (معرفت فانی معرفت نیست).³

1 Bom. Ed. p. 32. l. 9.

2 *Ibid.* p. 32, l. 17.

3 *Ibid.* l. 19.

At one time, one expressed surprise to Azar Kaiwan

His views in relation to the destruction of the Fire-temples of Iran and the Shiah sect.

for the fact, that the Shiahites (متین شعی) opposed men like the great (akbar) truthful (حضرت صدیق اکبر)¹ and the great justiciary² (فاروق اعظم) and the master

of the two lights (ذوالنورین)³ who had made great attempts (بسا کوشش) for the good of the people. Azar Kaiwan said that the generality of people are carried away by time and place against the cause of the truth of belief (عوام گرفتار زمان و مکانند برخلاف تحقیق کیشان) (آتشکده ها) and the ancient faith (دین سابق) of the Iranians. So, the Iranians, who all have adopted the Shiah faith, have always been cherishing revolt and envy (بعض و حسد) against them.⁵

1 This is a reference to Abou Bakar, who was called the truthful, because he is said to have "attested the miracle of the Prophet's ascension to heaven" (Shea p. 99). Shea and Troyer are wrong in taking the word "akbar" to be a proper noun for the great Indian ruler Akbar. It is not correct to say of him that he was one of those who destroyed Fire-temples. On the contrary, he is said to have founded one in his palace. The other two great personages referred to are Omar and Osman.

2 Fâruq (فاروق) Discoverer. "Surname of Omar (as discriminating between truth and falsehood, at an early stage of Islam or as making orthodoxy distinct from, i.e., triumphant over, infidelity)" (Steingass).

3 Zu-n-nurain=Master of two lights. "Name of the Caliph Osman (as having married two daughters of Mohommad)" (Steingass).

4 Bom. Ed. p. 33, l. 2.

5 What is meant seems to be this: "The above great personages destroyed the Fire-temples and the religion of the ancient Iranians. So, the later Iranians, who had adopted the Shiah faith, which contained elements of the ancient Zoroastrian faith, did not forget this injury done to the faith of their forefathers who were all Zoroastrians,

The date of the death of Azar Kaiwan, as given by different authors, differs. The Bombay Edition of 1262 Hijri (1846 A.C.) gives it as 1027 (هزار و بیست و هفت), i.e., 1617-18¹.

The Gujarati translator of the Dabistan, Mobad Far-dunji Marzban gives the Hijri year 1027 (i.e., 1618 A.C.). Dastur Edalji Dorabji Sanjana, in the introductory portion of his Gujarati version of the Sharistan-i-Chahar Chaman, gives the year as 1018 Hijri (1609 A.C.). He says : હજરત “આજરે કચેવાન શને ૧૦૧૮ હીજરીના વરશમાં મુજરેઆ છે”. He does not give his authority for this Hijri year 1018 (i.e., 1609 A.C.). Mr. Bomanji B. Patel in his *Parsee Prakâsh* (Vol. I, p. 10) gives the year of the death as 1614 A.C. on the authority of a copy (p. 209) of the Dabistan published in 1262 Hijri in Lachman Press of Bombay. Thus, we are given three dates of his death, viz., A.C. 1609, 1614 and 1618. I think that we must take the date, as given in the text of the Dabistan, viz., 1027 Hijri (i.e., 1618 A.C.) as the correct date.

Azar Kaiwan died at the age of 85 (هشتاد و پنج سال با)

Date of his arrival in India. ²(عنصري بيكر بود), i.e., for 85 years, he remained united with the elements of the body (lit. was element faced). So, he must have been born in about (1618 — 85) 1533. From his age of 5 years he began to show the tendencies of a recluse

and therefore, now and then, revolted.” This is a reference to the generally accepted belief, that the Shiah of Iran, though they accepted the new religion of the great Mahomedan prophet, under the stress of circumstances, they have not forgotten, that, after all, they were the progeny of the ancient Zoroastrians, whose Fire-temples and faith were destroyed by the early Arab conquerors.

1 The translators, Shea and Troyer, give the corresponding year as 1673 A.C., which is evidently a mistake.

2 Bombay. Ed. p. 30, l. 3.

and a mystic (از پنج سالگی بکم خوری و شب بیداری پرداخت)¹ and ate only one diram² weight of food (غذاش یکی درم وزن رسید).³ He sat in a jar for 28 years (بیست و هشت سال در خم نشست).⁴ So, if we take it that he began passing his time in a jar⁵ from the above very early age of 5, he must have continued sitting in this way till the age of (5 plus 28) 33 years, i.e., upto (1533 plus 33) 1566 A.C. Then he is said to have come to India in later days (باز پسین روز).⁶ The words *bâz pasîn*, i.e., later, are rather vague. But, we must take the words in the sense of "long afterwards", say, about 15 or 20 years after his leaving off his close retirement. So, we may take it, that he came to India, some time about 1581 to 1585 A.C., i.e., about the 40th year of the life of Akbar, who died in 1605. So, what Mobad Dossabhai Sorabji Munshi says, in the preface (p. 6) of his Gujarati translation of Ketâb-i-Khestâb Zardasht Afshar and Zindehrud⁷, that he came to Patna in the time of Akbar is correct.

1 *Ibid.* p. 29, l. 18.

2 A diram, according to Steingass, corresponds to a Greek Drachma, which, according to Webster, is 2 dwt. 7 grains, i.e., 55 grains. Mobad Fardunji Murzban, in his translation of the Dabistan (1st Ed. published on 25th December 1805, p. 172), gives the weight as that of 48 grains of barley (૪૮ એકતલીસ જવ બરાબર ખાજુ ખાવા લાગે).

3 *Ibid.* p. 29, l. 20.

4 *Ibid.* l. 22.

5 Shea and Troyer take خم khum to be a town. This seems to be a mistake. Fardunji Marzban very properly translated અધારી તંગ જગા, i.e., dark narrow place (1st Ed., p. 173).

6 Bom. Ed. p. 29, l. 22.

7 દીવીના પાદશાહ અકબર શાહના વખતમાં 'પટના' નામના શહેરમાં આવીએ હતો. (કેતાબે ખેસ્તાબ-ઝરદાસ્ત અફશાર તથા જીન્દહેહ રૂફ ૧૮૪૮ ઉપવી પા. ૬). Of these three books, the Kheshtâb is said to be a translation, in the Persian of the time, by Mobad Sarosh, a disciple of Azar Kaiwan. The original was written by one Hakim Khastâb in the time of Khusru Purviz. It was also known as Garzan-i-Danesh (گرزن دانش).

Mr. B. B. Patel, in his *Parsi Prakāsh* (Vol. I, p. 10), speaks of Azar Kaiwan as a Dastur. We have not the authority of the Dabistan or the Sharistan-i-Chehar Chaman to speak of him as such. But Mobad Fardunji Marzban, in his translation of the Dabistan, began speaking of him as Dastur (દશગુરુ હજારત આજરે કેવાન, i.e., Dastur pious Azar-i-Kaiwan).¹ Then others followed suit.

Some later writers speak of Azar Kaiwan having a son. It looks strange, that a mystic like him, who had mystic tendencies from the age of five, and who is said to have confined himself in a narrow congested place, and who had retired from the world for 28 years, should have a son. So, I will say here a few words on this subject. It seems, that the name of a person, named Kaihusru having been mentioned as the son of Kaiwan (کیخسرو ابن کیوان), has led some Parsi writers to commit the mistake of speaking of there being a son of Azar Kaiwan. Khuda Jui, the son of Nāmdār (خدا جوی ابن نامدار)²,

i.e., the Crown of Wisdom. The author of the first book, Khastāb was a disciple of the 5th Sassan. The second book, Zardasht Afshar, is said to have been translated by Dadpai bin Mobad Hosh Ayin. Originally, it was written by one Hash-gui and it was called Azar Goshasp. According to the Dabistan, the later version was by a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, viz., Mobad Sarosh bin Kaiwan bin Kamgar, whose pedigree went to Zoroaster. The third book, Zindeh Rod, was also rendered into the then Persian by the above named Dadpai. Its original name was Chasmah-i-Zindagi. It was originally written in the reign of Khusru Purviz by a sage named Zindeh Azarm (vide pp. 5-7 of the preface of Mobad Dossabhai S. Munshi's Khestāb, etc.).

1 *Vide* his translation of the Dabistan, pp. 169 ff.

2 The Persian text of the work of Sayad Abdul Fattah, p. 2, l. 6. The title of the book is "મકારોક્તિ ક્યેવાન અથવા બમે કેખશર. શઈઅદ અબદુલ ફત્તી હરફ મીર અશરફ અલી મુનશી. ૧૮૪૮."

who was a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, had, as said above, written a work named Jām-i-Kaikhusrū. It was on the subject of the revelations (مکاشفات) or ecstasies of Azar Kaiwan.¹ He named it Jām-i-Kaikhusrū because one Kaikhusrū ibn Kaiwan had desired him to write it.² The Gujarati translator writes: “આએ મુકારોફાતે કબેવાની માહા વીદેઆવાન આજર કબેવાનની ફારશીમાં જોડેલી આશરે ૩૨૫ બેતામાં હતી. તેહેની કેખશર ઈબને કબેવાનના હોકમથી ખુદાજીએ ઈબને નામદારે ફારશીમાં શરેહ બનાવી હતી અને એ કેતાબનું નામ જમે કેખશર રાખેલું હતું.”³

It seems that the above name, Kaikhusrū ibn Kaiwan, led some subsequent writers to take it, that this Kaikhusrū was the son of Dastur Azar Kaiwan. We read in the Gujarati translation of the Khestāb: “મોટા પેગંબરોનો ખલીફા અને નબી લોકોનાં આગેવાન લોકોનો કાએમ મોકામ હજરત આજર કેવાનના બેટા કેખશર આશકેન્દીઆરે મહને ફરમાવેલું.....”⁴ Here we see that this author, Mobad Dossabhai Munshi, has mistaken the name Kaiwan of the Jām-i-Kaikhusrū to be Azar Kaiwan. Here, the important words are “Kaikhusrū Ashfandyār, the son of Azar Kaiwan”. Now, if this Kaikhusrū was the son of Azar Kaiwan, how can his name be mentioned as “Kaikhusrū Asfandiyār”, i.e., Kaikhusrū, son of Asfandiyār. Mobad Dossabhai Munshi has inadvertently committed the mistake of calling him the son (બેટા) of Azar Kaiwan.

The same translator has committed a similar mistake in his translation of the Zardasht Afshar. He writes: “આએ જમાનાનો ઈમામ ‘કેખશરો અશકંદીઆર’ કેજે હજરત આજર કબે-

1 *Ibid.* p. 1 of the Persian Dibācheh of the author.

2 *Ibid.* p. 3, l. 4.

3 P. 3 of the Gujarati translation of the Jam-i-Kaikhusrū, published by Munshi Abdul Fattah at the instance of the 1st Sir Jamsetjee.

4 કેતાબે ખેશતાબ જરદશત અફશાર તથા જનદેહ રોહ by Mobad Dossabhai S. Munshi. 1848. P. 2 of the second batch of pages.

વાનનો બેટા છે.”¹ He has again repeated the same mistake in his translation of the Zindeh-rud (જીન્દેહ રીદ) where he says: “કેખશરો અશદ્દીઆર કે જે હજરત ‘આજર કમ્બવાન’નો બેટાથાય.”²

Dastur Edalji Sanjana also erroneously infers from a passage of the Sharistan (Text. p. 3, l. 11) that he had a son. He writes in his version: “કેતાબનો જોડનાર શાઝર ફરજને બેહરામ બેન ફરહાદ પારશી લખે છે જે એ કેતાબ જોડવાનો બીજો શબ્દ એ છે જે અમારો શાહેબ જોડો ૧ કેખશરો નામનો છે તે હજરત આજરે કેવાનનો બેટા છે ને હમનાં પોતાના બાપથી જોડો પડીને યુરા લોકોની શોહોબત પડી હતી...તેહને રાહમાં લાવાને વાશતે એ કેતાબ શદ્દી ભરેલી એબારત શાહે જોડી છે.” (f. 4 b).

The Persian text speaks of Kaikhusru as *مخدوم زادہ عالم اشرف کبکسرو*, i.e., born of a lord, the noble learned Kaikhusru. But Dastur Edalji has taken “Makhdum-zadeh” as “son of Lord Azar Kaiwan,” though Azar Kaiwan’s name is not mentioned. His manuscript translation of the Sharistan bears no colophon. So, we are not in a position to say, whether he followed Ervad Dossabhai Munshi or Ervad Dossabhai Munshi followed him. Under all these circumstances, we must conclude that it is not the case that Azar Kaiwan who was inclined from childhood to a quiet meditative mystic way of life, was married and that he had a son named Kaikhusru. The writer, Ervad Dossabhai, seems to have been misled by a similarity of names.

VI

THE DISCIPLES OF AZAR KAIWAN.

The school of Azar Kaiwan’s disciples contained, both, much learned and less learned, Sufists. Some seem to be simply experimenting mystics, i.e., those who seemed

1 *Ibid.* the third batch of pages, p. 2.

2 *Ibid.* the fourth batch of pages, p. 1.

to observe certain practices without resorting much to the study of doctrines; and some were doctrinaires, *i.e.*, those who resorted more to doctrines than to observances. Some of these were authors of learned works—learned from the point of view of dialectics and theology. One or two seem to be ordinary disciples, inasmuch as they did not even abstain from meat diet and carried on commerce.

Azar Kaiwan had a number of disciples, Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian. Some had come with him from Persia. One Zoroastrian had gone from Surat to meet him at Patna. The Dabistan has spoken in some details, more or less, of 13 principal Zoroastrian disciples. Among the non-Zoroastrian disciples, 7 were Mahomedans, 2 Jews, 1 Christian, and 1 Brahmin. I give below a list of his 13 Zoroastrian disciples and will then give a brief account of each of them.

Out of the number of disciples whom Azar Kaiwan had, the author of the Dabistan¹ had met some personally in Kashmir.

I. Zoroastrian Disciples.

1. Farzaneh Kharrâd (فرزانه خراد Bom. Ed. p. 34).
2. Farzaneh Farshidward (فرزانه فرسیدورد).
3. Farzaneh Kheradmand (فرزانه خردمند p. 35).
4. Farzaneh Behram (فرزانه بهرام).
5. Mobad Hushyâr of Surat (موبد هوشیار p. 36).
6. Another Mobad Hushiyâr (موبد هوشیار p. 37).
7. Mobad Sarosh (موبد سروش p. 37).
8. Khudâ Jui (خدا جوي p. 39).
9. Farzaneh Behram the younger (فرزانه بهرام کوچک p. 40).

1 Bom. Ed. pp. 34 *et seq.* Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 105 *et seq.*

10. Mobab Parastar (موبد پرستار p. 40.)
11. Mobad Peshkar (موبد پیشکار p. 41.)
12. Shidush (شیدوش p. 41).

Then, on the authority of Mobad Khurshid, the writer of Bazamgah (بزگاه), the Dabistan names the following twelve without giving any particulars about them,¹ and says that they all ate food under ten dirams in weight:—

1. Ardeshir (اردشیر).
2. Kharrād (خراد).
3. Shiruyeh (شیرویه).
4. Kheradmand (خردمند).
5. Farhād (فرهاد).
6. Sohrāb (سهراب).
7. Azādeh (آزاده).
8. Bizan (بیزن).
9. Asfandiyār (اسفندیار).
10. Farshidward (فرشیدورد).
11. Bahman (بهمن).
12. Rustam (رستم).

II. Non-Zoroastrian Disciples.

The following were the non-Zoroastrian disciples of Azar Kaiwan:—

1. Mahamad² Ali Shirazi² (محمد علی شیرازی).
2. Mahamad S'ayid Isphahani³ (محمد سعید اصفهانی).
3. 'Ashūr Beg Qarāmānlu.⁴ (عاشور بیگ قرمانلو).

¹ Bom. Ed. p. 39, l. 13; ff. Shea and Troyer, I, p. 119.

² Bom. Ed. of the Dabistan, p. 43, l. 21. Shea and Troyer, I, p. 132.

³ *Ibid.* p. 44, l. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* l. 11

4. Mahmud Beg Tamin¹ (محمود بيگ تمين).
5. Musa (a Jew)² (موسى).
6. Hârun (a Jew)³ (هارون).
7. Antun Bashuyeh Vavarj (انتون بشويه واورج)
(a Portuguese (فرنگ), who ran after the religion
of the Christians.⁴
8. Râm Bhat (رام بهت), a learned Hindu Brahmin of
of Benarâs (براهمة بنارس).⁵
9. Mir-abu-l-Quasam Fandarski (مير ابو القاسم فندار斯基)
who was a sun worshipper (آفتاب پرستي).⁶
10. Mehrâb⁷ (مهرباب).
11. Mah-âb (ماه آب), a younger brother of Mehrâb.⁸

I will now give a few particulars about these disciples
of Azar Kaiwan. I will speak at first of—

- (1) The Zoroastrian disciples, and then of
- (2) The non-Zoroastrian disciples.

1. *A brief account of the Zoroastrian Disciples
of Azar Kaiwan.*

He had descended from the family of Mahbud¹⁰
1. Farzaneh who was the Khân Sâlâr (خان سالار)¹¹
Kharrâd.⁹ of Noshirwan. He was killed through

1 Bom. Ed. p. 45, l. 2. 2 *Ibid.* l. 10. 3 *Ibid.* l. 10

4 *Ibid.* l. 21. 5 *Ibid.* p. 46, l. 8. 6 *Ibid.* l. 22.

7 *Ibid.* p. 47, l. 13. 8 *Ibid.* p. 43, l. 1. 9 *Ibid.* p. 34, l. 9.

10 The Bombay edition gives the name as Mehbûl which seems
to be a mistake, because we know that Noshirwan had a courtier of
the name of Mahbûd.

11 Khân sâlâr lit. means, the chief of the house. We know from
Firdousi that Mahbûd was the Dastur (دستور) of the King. He was
also his treasurer (ganjûr) (M. Mohl's small ed. Vol. VI, p. 232. Kutar
Brothers' Gujarati Ed. Vol. VIII, p. 264. Warner Brothers' ed. VII,
p. 319. Dastur Minochehr's ed. IV, p. 53. Macan's Calcutta Ed. IV,
p. 1679.)

the magic (jādu) of a Jew and the machinations of the (royal) door-keeper (حاجب).¹ He first met Azar Kaiwan in a market of Shiraz. He had practised *riāzat* for several years. One of his miraculous exploits mentioned by Farzaneh Khushi (فرزانه خوشی) in his Bazam-gah² was this: Once Kharrad met Ardeshir, a descendant of Ardeshir Babegan,³ who (Ardeshir) was a disciple of Azar Kaiwan. Both attacked each other. Whenever Ardeshir aimed a blow with a sword, Karrad turned himself into a stone and the sword broke. He died in 1029 Hijri (i.e., 1620 A.C.).

Farshidward was a Parsi Dehkān (chief villager). He was descended from Farzaneh Shihdush, a disciple of the fifth Sassan. He also had met Azar Kaiwan in the above said place, i.e., in the bazar of Shiraz, and become his disciple. As related by Khushi, he also fought once with Bahman. Both attacked each other with weapons but they saved themselves by dexterous movements. They used muskets and guns (بندوق and قشک) against one another so dexterously, that the shot of one struck against the shot of another and both remained safe. He died in 1029 Hijri (i.e., 1619 A.C.).

Kheradmand had descended from Sam Nariman. He joined Zul 'Alām⁶ (i.e., Azar Kaiwan), and performed *riāzāt*. According to Khushi, when he once met Rustam who

1 The story, as given in the Shah-nameh, describes, how an evil eye of a Jew poisoned the milk of the King and how Mahbud's sons died by drinking the milk poisoned by evil eye.

2 Shea and Toyer give the name as Bazam Gāh-i-Durveshān.

3 The Bombay Edition gives this name itself as Ardeshir Behjar but that seems to be a mistake and the text which Shea and Toyer have followed seems to be correct.

4 *Ibid.* p. 34, l. 16.

5 *Ibid.* p. 35, l. 2.

6 Lit. Master of Learning.

had descended from Behramgore and who was one of the great disciples of Azar Kaiwan, he turned himself into a serpent and emitted flames to such an extent that a large (تنومند) *chinâr* (چنار¹ a plane tree) was burnt. Three months after Bahman's death, Kheradmand resumed his original condition.² The following miracles of these men are related. (a) They hid the sun (آفتاب پوشانید), i.e., stopped his light; (b) made the sun appear at night; (c) made the stars shine at day; (d) walked over water; (e) made trees give fruit out of season; (f) made dry trees green; (g) caused trees to bow down (سجود); (h) showed themselves like a lightning (برق); (i) took different forms of animals; (j) made themselves invisible to others; (k) assumed different forms. All these wonders are referred to in the Bazam-Gah-i-Darwish (درویش) of Khushi. The author (آورانامه) of the Dabistan says that he himself had seen at Patna, these four holy men (آزاده), viz., Kharrad, Farshidward, Bahman, and Kheradmand, who all blessed him.

Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, was descended from Goudarz Keshwad³. He joined Azar Kaiwan, not in Persia, but in Patna. He came from Shiraz. He was versed in Dialectics (منطقیات), the science of knowing one's nature (طبیعیات) and devotional austerities (ریاضت) and Theology (الهیات), as taught by books in Parsi, Pahlavi and Arabic languages. He had close relations (نسبت) with

¹ Shea and Troyer give 'palm' (Vol. I, p. 107) which seems to be a mistake for 'plane.' ² I.e., from his condition of being burnt to ashes. The name Bahman seems to be a mistake for that of Rustam.

³ Shea and Troyer give the name as Hashwâd, but this seems to be a mistake, because the Shâhnameh also gives the name of the father of Goudarz as Keshwâd.

Khajeh Jamal-ul-din Mahmud, a disciple of Mulla Jalâl Dawâni. He had written Sharistan-i-Dānesh and Gulistan-i-Binash. He says of himself in his Sharistan, that it was with the help (ياوري) of Azar Kaiwan that he acquired knowledge of the angels, and the angelic world, etc. Mobad Hoshiyar tells us as having heard from Farzaneh Behram, that once Farzaneh Behram wished that Azar Kaiwan may tell him what the secrets of his (Farzaneh Behram's) heart were. Azar Kaiwan told all the secrets. He knew alchemy. He died in Hijri 1034, i.e., 1624 A.C., at Lahore.¹

Mobad Hoshiyar² wrote Sarûd-i-Mastân (سرود مستان), i.e., The songs of the intoxicated. He was born at the *bunder* of Surat. He traced his descent from Tehmtan, i.e., Rustam, the son of Zal. He was very brave, courageous and experienced. He was wise and settled disputes (قطع خصومات). If an account of all his work was given, e.g., his conquest of the Heavens (*gardîn*) and his moving about (*gashtan*) above (على) at once or at the same time (یکه), his story would be as large as that of the Shah Nameh.³ He slept in a particular attitude known as *Murdeh Khwab* (مردہ خواب) or *Murdeh Khust* (مردہ خست) or *Sāv-nus* (ساونوس).⁴ He stopped his breathing for one

1 Bom. Ed. p. 36, l. 6. Shea and Troyer do not give the name of Lahore as the place of his death.

2 Bom. Ed. p. 36, l. 8. 3 Shea and Troyer translate this part as, "his victory at Girdun, his defeat of Ali Yakub". Shea then says in a foot-note "This passage is very obscure—the occurrences here mentioned must have been local." I think they are not right in taking some common names as proper names. What is meant is that he miraculously moved in all parts of the Heavens.

4 These are different postures or state of sleep said to be resorted to by ascetics.

watch (پاس), *i.e.*, 3 hours. He did not abstain from any kind of food, but avoided doing any injury to animals (آزار جاندار). He died in 1050 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1640 A.C., in the capital Akbarabad.

One other Mobad Hoshiyâr,¹ a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, was one who explained (مترجم), *i.e.*, commented upon, Jashn-i-Sadeh (جشن سده).² He traced his descent from Jamasp Hakim. The author of the work (کردار گذار), *i.e.*, the Dabistan, met him in the heart-ravishing country of Kashmir (خطه دلپذیر کشمیر)³, in 1036 (*i.e.*, 1626 A.C.). He stood from midnight to dawn on the fingers of his hand (سرانگوشتان دست).

Mobad Sarush⁴ was the son of Kaiwan, son of Kām-gâr. Kām-gâr was so called for being known for much knowledge. He was descended on father's side from the prophet Shat Zardusht, and, on mother's side, from Jamasp Hakim. He knew Tazi (Arabic), Persian and Hindi languages. He had travelled a good deal in prosperous (or populated) countries. He became a disciple of Azar Kaiwan and learnt Arbiyat (عربیّت)⁵ from Farzaneh Behram, the

1 Bom. Ed. p. 37, l. 1.

2 Originally Jashn-i-Sadeh, was one of the several festivals celebrated by the ancient Persians. It celebrated the event of the discovery of fire at the hands of Faridun.

3 Shea and Troyer's text (I, p. 113) gives the name as Kashnim. This seems to be a mistake. We know of no beautiful country of this name.

4 Bombay Ed. p. 37, l. 6.

5 Shea and Troyer translate the word as "Arabic language". I have doubts. It seems to mean simply "culture of the Arabs," because Arabic is spoken of above as Tazi. The word 'Arabi' means "civilized Arabian" (Steingass, p. 842, col. 2).

son of Farhad. He was aged 60 and had never seen the company of any woman (روی آمیزش زن ندیده) and had never tasted animal food. He was the writer of Nôsh Dârû and Sagangbin¹ and Zardasht Afshar.² Mahmad Hasan said that he had heard from him, 360 proofs of the confirmation of the Existence of God.³ Many miracles of his are related, e.g., (a) bringing into existence what is non-existent (*aijâd, mad'im*), (b) making non-existent what is existent, (c) revealing what is hidden, (d) concealing what is known, (e) the fulfilment of his prayer, (f) cutting long distances in a short time, (g) knowledge of hidden affairs, (h) appearing in different places at one and the same time, (i) reviving the dead and depriving the living of life, (j) understanding the language of animals and vegetables and minerals (*kâni*), (k) producing food and wine without any means or materials (*bî-sabab*), (l) to walk on water, (m) passing through fire and air and (n) such other miraculous things. The author (*râqem nameh* of Dabistan) says that he met him in Kashmir in 1036 Hijri (i.e., 1627 A.C.). Farrah Kari (قره قاري), a servant of Shîdûshi, said, that once, he was hurt by the people of Keshâwar (کشاور) of Achan (اچن), a place near the Idgah (عبدگام) of Kashmir. He complained of this to Yazdan Sitâi (یزدان ستاي),⁴ a disciple of Sarosh. Yazdan Sitâi, on learning this complaint, asked the complainant whether he wished that God may destroy their country by flood. On receiving a reply in the affirmative, he

1 *I.e.*, The Honey of Dogs. 2 Companion (Afshar) of Zardasht.

3 دلیل اثبات واجب Lit. Proofs confirming the existence of the one who is necessary. *Wajib-ul wujud* is the Self-existent.

4 Shea and Troyer give the name as Yazdan Silâi which seems to be a mistake. There is no word like Silâi but we have Sitâyi meaning "one who praises".

caused rain to fall and destroyed their properties by flood. Sarosh, on hearing of this kind of revenge, rebuked his disciple and got rain ceased at once. When once Farrah Qâri was ill-treated by the people of a caravanserai (khan) at Bâlik (بَالِق), in the city of Torkhan (تَرْخَان), he complained to Sarosh. Sarosh caused, at night, figures of extraordinary large men to appear in the air before the men and frightened them and forced them to desist from ill-treating others. Even Sarosh's disciple, Yazdan Sitâi, performed many miracles, one of which was that he turned heaps of broken pottery (سفال شکسته) into golden mohurs (اشرفی). He at times held a towel (متدیل)¹ in fire but it did not burn. Again, at times, he swallowed fire and played in the midst of fire.

Khuda Jui was another disciple of Azar Kaiwan. He
 8. Khuda Jui. was a native of Hirat (هرات) and he knew Persian and Arabic (Tâzi). He was the author of the Jâm-i-Kaikhusrû which is a commentary on the poems of Azar Kaiwan. He arrived in 1040 Hijri (1631 A.C.) in Kashmir, where the author (آورنامه of Dabistan) met him. He died there in the same year. According to his own statement², he was asked in a dream to seek for a spiritual guide (رهبري). He was in search of one when he saw, in dream³, Azar Kaiwan, whom he found to his liking. He went to him with Farzaneh Khushi. He abstained from all animal food, whether it be of wild animals or of domesticated animals (حيوان جلالی و جمالی)⁴. He kept up his breath (تدم فرو بستی) for 4 watches (i.e., 12 hours), and exercised the practice of suppression of breath (*habs-i-nafsh*)⁵. He passed sleepless nights and ate

1 Bom. Ed. p. 88, l. 15.

2 *Ibid.* p. 39, l. 14.

3 *Ibid.* l. 4.

4 *Ibid.* l. 6.

5 *Ibid.* p. 39, l. 6.

6 *Ibid.*

only 50 dirams weight of food. He had gone from Herat to Istakhar to meet Azar Kaiwan.¹

Mobad Khushi was the author (خداوند) of Bazam Gah 9. Mobad Khushi. (بزم گاه)², wherein he refers by name to 12 disciples of Azar Kaiwan. According to his own version, as given by him in his Bazam Gah and narrated in the Dabistan, he was, from his very youth, in search of a spiritual guide (پیر) and he sought the advice of the pious personages (مشایخ) of Iran, Turan, Roum and Hind, whether Musulman, Hindu, Gabr, Christian (نصاری) or Jew. All said to him: "Mend your faith (کیش) and come to our way (راه)." But he was not inclined to give up his creed. He is named a Mobad; and he speaks of having gone for consultation, among others, to Gabrs, i.e., Zoroastrians, also, who also are said to have told him to quit his faith and to go to their path. This looks rather strange, but he seems to speak in general terms. Perhaps, by *kish* and *rah* is meant some particular beliefs of the speakers. He says, that during this perplexity of belief, his father Hush (هوش)³ advised him to pray to God for advice. Then a voice (*nadâ*) reached him, saying: "Oh man! leaving off the main river, you have turned towards rivulets or canals (انهار)." Then, when he turned towards the river, an angel (Sarîsh) said, that the great sea or river is Azar Kaiwan. He then joined Azar Kaiwan in the company of Khuda Jui.

Farzaneh Behram, son of Farshâd⁴, was called the younger (kuchak) Behram. The 10. Farzaneh Behram, the Younger. Arzang-i-mâni (ارزنگ مانی) was his work. He became a disciple of Azar Kaiwan,

1 *Ibid.* l. 4. 2 *Ibid.* p. 39, l. 12. 3 *Ibid.* p. 40, l. 2.

4 Shea and Troyer give the name as Farhad. This is evidently wrong, because Farzaneh Behram of Farhad is already spoken of above.

and in the religious company (parastâri) of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, soon acquired perfection. The author (nameh gerd-avar) of the Dabistan says, that, in 1048 Hijri (1638 A.C.), in the capital city of Lahore he found the young Behram, the son of Farshâd¹, in complete pleasure (سراسر سرور). But he died² in the same year. He knew Arabic, Persian, Hindi, and Firangi (i.e., Portuguese) languages. He had translated into Persian, known as Persian mixed with Arabic, the writings of Shaikh Ashrak Shahabuddin Maqtul, who was of the Istarâq sect. He maintained himself as a scribe. The author (nameh-negâr) of the Dabistan says that, when one night in Hijri 1048 (1638 A.C.), he saw him, with Mobad Hushiyar, at Lahore, he saw him sitting on his knees facing the East, the whole night. He sat in this posture for 2 to 3 days even without bread and water. He lived on a small quantity of cow's milk, which even he took at the interval of 2 or 3 days.

Mobad Parastâr, son of Khurshid, took the form of elements (عنصري يکر, i.e., was born) in Patna³. His father Khurshid was of Isphahan. In his very young days, he joined Azar Kaiwan and was much attached to Azar Kaiwan's disciple, Mobad Sarosh. He wrote the Tap-reh-i-Mobadi.⁴ In Hijri 1049 (A.C. 1640), the author

1 Here also the text, followed by the above author, erroneously gives the name as Farhad.

2 Bom. Ed. p. 40, l. 9.

3 Ibid. p. 40, l. 18.

4 I think that, here, the word *tap* is Indian तप which is a kind of ritual of devotion. Being born in India, he seems to use an Indian word. So, the words would mean, "The Path of making Tap (or *riazât*) for Mobads."

(*nameh-negâr*) of the Dabistan met him in Kashmir. There, from night-fall to morning, Mobad Parastâr was engaged in Sarâyast (سرایست).¹ In the heavenly language (زبان آسمانی), *i.e.*, in the Desatir, Sarayast is called Faru shavad (فرو شود). In this practice, they hold up the feet in the air and stand on the head. It is called Kapâl âsan (کپال آسن)² in Hindi. He suddenly died in that position in the year of his visit to Kashmir (in 1640).

Peshkâr,³ son of Khorshid, was also born in Patna.

12. Mobad Peshkâr. He was one year younger than Parastâr. As both are mentioned as sons of

Khurshid, Parastâr and Peshkâr seem to be brothers. Both were born in Patna. Their father Khurshid, who was of Isphahan, seems to have come and settled in Patna. He seems to have come down from Isphahan on some business, and not in search of riyâzat. The very fact of his having two sons, Parastâr and Peshkâr, one after another at the interval of an year, shows, that he was not of that belief of the riyazât, which enjoined abstinence from the company of women. Peshkâr, became an expert in Hindi songs (*nagmah*) and verse (ہندی نغمہ و اشعار). He was specially attached to Mobad Sarosh. He went with his brother to Kashmir, intending to go from there to Khatâ (خطا).⁴ He practised the holding up of breath (حبس نفس) to such an extent, that, according to Mobad Hushiyar, he once remained under

2 Sarâyast in Persian means a kettle-drum. So, Shea and Troyer translate the word as kettle-drum. Here, the word Sarayâst seems to mean standing (*istadun*) on the head (*sar*).

3 The words are Indian कपाल आसन, *i.e.*, the posture (*âsan*) of resting on forehead (*kapâl*).

3 Bom. ed. p. 41, l. 3.

4 Khatâ was the name of Northern China. Cathay seem to be a later form of it.

water continually for two watches, *i.e.*, six hours. He seems to have carried out his above intention of going to Khata (Cathay, China), because, the author of the Dabistan does not say anything about his death, but simply wishes him safety wherever he be (هر کجا هست خدا با سلامت دارش) ¹.

Shidush², son of Anôsh (انوش), was descended from

13. Shidûsh. prophet Zoroaster. His father Anôsh was known as Farhush (فرهوش). He was

one of the devoted relatives or allies (پیوندان) of Azar Kaiwan. One Zarbâdi³ (زربادی) also was descended from the divine prophet (vakhshâr) Zardusht. At first, he had no money or capital (مایه) except the distress of destitution (درد ناداری), but, afterwards, he became one of the possessors of property (دارنده گان). When both the brothers were in the early stage of destitution, they visited Azar Kaiwan for advice. Azar Kaiwan advised that they may, with a small capital (باندک سرمایه), go to the country of the rising sun, *i.e.*, to the East, and then return to the country of the setting sun, *i.e.*, the West. Thus advised, they went to the Eastern Countries for trade and amassed some money. In the mea time, Azarn Kaiwan died. After some time, Zarbâdi sent an old servant, named Farrah Qari (فره قاری), to Patna, in order that he (Farrah Qari) may send his daughter to the female apartments of his brother Shidosh (*i.e.*, give his daughter in marriage to his brother). Then Shidosh and Farrah Qari again went out from Patna for trade (بازرگانی). They thought of going to Kashghar (کاشغر), *via* Kashmir.

1 *Ibid.* p. 1. 8.

2 *Ibid.* p. 41, l. 9.

3 Shea and Troyer give the name Zarbâdi. The Bom. ed. gives the name here (p. 41, l. 10) as Razbâdi; but that is a mistake, as later on the name is given as Zarbâdi (*ibid.* l. 17).

So, they waited for some time in Kashmir. From the very time when Shidosh left Patna, there had begun in his mind mystic thoughts. He took to the religious practice of what is called Âzâd Âwâd (آزاد آواد) or Âwâd Âzâd (آواد آزاد) in Persian, Sut Mutlaq (صوت مطلق) in Arabic, and Anâhad (اناهد) in Hindi. One day, he said to the writer (نگارنده) of Dabistan, that the heavenly light was revealed to him. Though drowned in mystic thoughts, he appeared in worldly magnificence in the matter of his own and his retinue's dress. He said that, he owed his worldly wealth to Azar Kaiwan. So, it will not be proper to ignore it. He must use it in some good way. Shidosh was a selected¹ good youth. He seems to have been a mystic recluse in the midst of the world. He fell ill in Kashmir and in the midst of his great illness, he remained very cheerful. When he found, that his friends round about him were affected, he consoled them, saying, that he was going to a better world and raising his hands and turning his face toward the heavens which is the direction for turning to at the time of prayer (قبله دعا), he recited couplets from Sahifeh al Awalia (صحيفة الاوليا) of Imam Mahamad Nurbakhsh and closed his eyes. He died in 1040 Hijri (1629 A.C.).

We do not find his name in the list of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan, as given collectively in Mobad Hosh. one place in the Dabistan. But he seems to be a follower of Azar Kaiwan's school. The author of the Dabistan met him in Kashmir in Hijri 1032 (1622-23 A.C.) when he was performing a *tap*.²

1 Shea and Troyer have taken the word *بهین* to be a part of Shidosh's proper name, as "Shidosh Behin" but that does not seem to be so. Behin means "selected, good".

2 *Vide* the preface (p. 7) of Mobad Dossabhai Munshi's *Kheshtab*, etc.

All the above thirteen disciples were Zoroastrians.

The above 13
Zoroastrian Dis-
ciples.

Out of these thirteen, six (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9,
11 and 12) who bear the appellation of

Mobads were of the priestly class and the remaining seven were laymen. The epithet Farzāneh, i.e., wise or learned, which is applied to five of these seven, seems to show that, they, though they were not priests, were all learned to a great degree. The remaining two may be ordinarily learned. One of these two was evidently a merchant. It appears that, though it was expected from all members of the school that they should abstain from meat, there was one who did not abstain from meat. Then, there were a number of non-Zoroastrian disciples.

(2) *Non-Zoroastrian Disciples of Azar Kaiwan.*

The Dabistan says that there was a work known as Dastān Adresah (داستان ادرسه)¹, which gave an account of some other learned Ābādians of the creed of Azar Kaiwan, and that, if he were to give an account of all those learned men, his work (Dabistan) would grow too large; so, he now proceeds with an account of those who were non-Yazdānians, i.e., non-Parsis, and who followed the rules (سلوك) of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan. He names and gives a brief account of great ones (تنی چند سترگ). I will give here a brief account of them.

He was a fellow student (هم درس)² of Shah Fatah

Ali. He was of the family stock of
1. Mahamad Ali of Shiraz.

Azar Kaiwan (بآذر کیوان در مولد خویش رسید).

So, it seems, he was converted from Zoroastrianism. He was a disciple of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad. One night, when he found that a

1 Bom. Ed. p. 43, ll. 18-19. Shea and Troyer give the name as Dadistān Aursah (Vol. I, p. 131). 2 Ibid. p. 43, l. 21.

thief was going away from his house in despair, he, who had pretended to be in deep sleep, stopped him and told him where his valuables were. The thief was put to shame and turned a new leaf.

He was a disciple¹ of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, and died in 1045 Hijri (1634 A.C.). Once, 2. Mahmud Sayad of Isphahan. when he went to see Farzaneh, he was given an honoured seat, but a *darwish*, who followed, was given a lower spot in the place where shoes are placed (n'al-jâ). On being questioned, Farzaneh explained saying "external forms are not perfect" (sûri kamâl nist).

He was a pupil of Farzaneh² Behram of Farshad.³ He was illiterate. The 3. Ashur Beg Qarâmânlu. author of the Dabistan met him in Kashmir in 1048 Hijri (1636 A.C.). Farzaneh Behram taught him proper positions for breathing. He never touched money.

Tamin⁴ is a sect (firqeh) of Arang in Lahore. He was a disciple of Farzaneh Behram, 4. Mahmud Beg Tamin. and became one of the Yakaneh-bins, i.e., those who looked to the Unity of God. He also was illiterate. One day, seeing a dog in pains, he purchased medicine for him, by selling his prayer-carpet and rosary, and cured him.

They were Jews and were the disciples of Farzaneh Behram of Farshâd. They were of the 5 and 6. Musa and Hârân.⁵ class of Rabbis (ربان). They were merchants, but they never told a lie in selling and buying. They said, that Farzaneh Behram

1 Bom. ed. p. 44, l. 5.

2 *Ibid.* l. 11.

3 Shea and Troyer mistakenly give the name as Farhâd.

4 *Ibid.* p. 45, l. 2.

5 *Ibid.* l. 10.

had an extraordinary characteristic and appearance, which captured, at once, those who saw him. For example, one Mulla Muhamad Sayyad of Samarkand, who went to scoff at him, was captured by him at Lahore. On the very first sight of Farzaneh Behram, he fell to his feet and bowed.

He was a Farangi (Portuguese) and a staunch believer of Christianity. He was rich, but he became a *qalandār*, i.e., a mendicant, a *darwesh*.

He was a learned Hindu Brahmin of Benares. He was a disciple of Farzaneh Behram, the son of Farhad. He drew one Ramchand, a Khatri (کھتری), one of the great men of the court of Shahan-i Sakal (شاهان سبکگل), to his fold, and both joined together, and made many others, disciples of Farzaneh Behram, the son of Farhad. Sāh in Hindi means a proprietor, a rich man. Sakhal is a sect in India.

He was introduced to sun-worship (آفتاب پرستی) by the disciples of Kaiwan. We learn from an account of this man, that the disciples of Azar Kaiwan did not ask the initiated in their fold to abandon their faith.

He joined the disciples of Azar Kaiwan in Hijri 1047 (A.C. 1637).

He was a young brother of Mehrāb. He was seen by the author of the Dabistan in work with Farzaneh Behram, the son of Farhad.

At the end of the section treating of the disciples, the author of the Dabistan says, that, though the later kings

1 *Ibid.* p. 45, l. 21.

2 *Ibid.* p. 46, l. 8.

of Persia adopted the faith of Zardusht, they did not give up their old Abadian faith, which they called Farhang Kish (فرهنگ کیش).

According to the Dabistan, Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were descended from noble The ancestors of Azar Kaiwan and of his disciples. ancestors of the ancient dynasties of Persia. I give below a list giving the names of these ancestors as ascertained from the Dabistan :—

| <i>Name.</i> | <i>Ancestors.</i> |
|---|---|
| Azar Kaiwan | ... The first Sassan. ¹ |
| Farzaneh Kharrad | ... From Mahbud of the Court of Noshirwan. |
| Farzaneh Farshidward | ... From Farzaneh Sedush, one of the disciples of the 5th Sassan. |
| Farzaneh Kheradmand | ... From Sam Nariman. |
| Farzaneh Behram | ... From Godarz Keshwad. |
| Mobad Hushyâr | ... From Rustam-i-Zal. |
| Second Mobad Hushyâr | ... From Jamâsp Hakim. |
| Mobad Sarush | ... From Zardasht on father's side, and from Jamasp on mother's side. |
| Khûda Jui. (His ancestry is not mentioned). | |
| Shidush | ... Descended from Prophet Zardusht. |
| Zarbad, brother of Shidush | ... From Zardusht. |

¹ Rom. ed. p. 29.

Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were from different parts of Persia. Some were from India. The original home of Azar Kaiwan and his Zoroastrian disciples. I give here, a list of their countries as ascertained from the Dabistan :—

| <i>Names.</i> | <i>Places.</i> |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Azar Kaiwan | ... Istakhar. |
| Farzaneh Kharrad | ... Met Azar Kaiwan in Shiraz. |
| Farzaneh Farshidward | ... Met Azar Kaiwan in Shiraz. |
| Farzaneh Kheradmand | ... 1 |
| Farzaneh Behram | ... He was from Shiraz and first met Azar Kaiwan at Patna. |
| Mobad Hushyâr | ... Surat. |
| Second Mobad Hushyâr | ... 1 |
| Mobad Sarush | ... 1 |
| Khuda Jui | ... Herat. |
| Mobad Parastâr, son of Khorshid. | He was born at Patna in India. His father was of Isphahan. |
| Mobad Peshkâr, brother of Parastâr. | He also was born at Patna. |
| Mobad Shidush | ... 1 |

I give below, a list, giving the dates of the deaths of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples. We see from it, that they all flourished in the time of Akbar (died 1605) and his son Jehangir (1605-28). Two lived upto the reign of Shah Jehan (1628-1707) :—

1 His place is not mentioned.

| <i>Names.</i> | <i>Date of death.</i> |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Azar Kaiwan ... | ... 1614 |
| Farzaneh Kharrad ... | ... 1620 |
| Farzaneh Farshidward ... | ... 1619 |
| Farzaneh Kheradmand ... | ... Date not known. |
| Farzaneh Behram ... | ... 1624 (at Lahore). |
| Mobad Hushyâr of Surat of the family of Tehmtan Rustam ... | ... 1640, at Akabarabad. |
| Second Mobad Hushyâr of the family of Jâmasp ... | ... Not known. |
| Mobad Sarush ... | ... Some time after 1627, aged 60. |
| Khuda Jui ... | ... 1631, died at Kash- mir. |
| Farzaneh Behram, the younger ... | ... 1638, died at Lahore. |
| Mobad Parastâr ... | ... 1640, in Kashmir. |
| Shidush ... | ... 1629, in Kashmir. |

The author of the Dabistan says, that he met some of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan personally. He met Kharrad, Farshidvard, Bahman and Kheradmand, at Patna. He met the second Mobad Hushyâr in Kashmir in 1626 A.D. He met Sarush also in Kashmir in 1627. He first met Khuda Jui in Kashmir in 1831. It seems that, possibly, he met also Shirdush, son of Anush in Kashmir.

Works written by the different pupils of Azar Kaiwan and by Azar Kaiwan himself.

We find the names of the following books, as written by the different followers of Azar Kaiwan :—

1. Jashan-i-Sadeh by Mobad Hushyar (Bombay ed. p. 24, l. 5. Shea and Troyer's Translation I, p. 72).

2. Sarud-i-Mastan by Mobad Hushyar (*Ibid.* l. 6, *Ibid.*)

3. A commentary on Jam-i-Kaikhusrō by Mobad Khuda Jui (*Ibid.* p. 25, l. 18. Shea and Troyer, p. 76). This book is said to be a commentary (شرح) on the text of the poem of venerable Azar Kaiwan (متن منظومه شت اذر کیوان).

4. Zardusht Afshar by Mobad Sarush (*Ibid.* p. 26, l. 7, Shea, p. 77). That the original, of which it is a commentary, was written by Azar Kaiwan himself (*Ibid.* p. 26, l. 9, Shea, p. 84) appears from what is said in the Dabistan, where, while speaking of this work, it is said that it was written by him (Bom. ed. p. 31, l. 14 (آذر کیوان در جام کیخسرو آورده).

5. Kheshtab. It appears, not from the Dabistan but from the book (Kheshtab) itself, that this book was written by Mobad Hosh at the desire of Kaikhusrū Asfandiyar, the successor of Azar Kaiwan¹. Mobad Hosh calls himself Khaneh Zād (one brought up by the family) of Azar Kaiwan. The book was originally written by one Kheshtab, a disciple of Sassan-i-Panjum, in the reign of Khusru Purviz. Its original name was Garzan-i-Danesh, i.e., the Crown of Wisdom. Mobad Hosh was desired to render it into the Persian of his times². The author says that the name Kheshtab comes from Kheshtab (self-burning) which was the name of a fire-temple, the sacred fire of which was self-burning (خود سوز). So, Kheshtab is another form of Khud Suz. The book consists of 47 dalil (دلیل), i.e., arguments to

1 I write this on the authority of the translation—not the original—by Mobad Dosabhai S. Munshi (*Vide* his Gujarati book ખેશતાબ-જરેદશત અક્ષર તથા જ-દેહરોદ (1848).

2 *Ibid.* p. 2.

prove the Existence of God. The very first proof is that which modern theologians speak of, as the Argument from Design. The translator illustrates its contents, by saying that it is something like the *kol* (word) of European savants, who say : " Carefully study Nature, and look, through Nature, up to nature's God"¹.

6. Zindeh Rud², i.e., the living river. The author of the book is Mobad Khushi. He also was asked by Kaikhusru Asfandiyar, the immediate successor of Azar Kaiwan³, to write the book. It was originally written in the time of Khusru Purviz in the then Persian language by a sage, named Zindeh Azarm (زندہ آزرم),⁴ i.e., living greatness. The book is divided into 58 *quals* (قول) or words.

VII

A FEW TENETS OF BELIEF, OBSERVANCES, ETC., OF AZAR KAIWAN AND HIS DISCIPLES.

I will give here a few principal tenets of belief, observances, and practices of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples.

1. They believed that they were in communion with God and received instructions in visions (در خواب) from old philosophers of India, Greece and Persia.⁵

1 *Ibid.* p. 5.

2 Zindeh Rud is the name of a river at Ispahan which gives beauty to Ispahan. Of the several places in Persia, which I liked much in my travels in 1925, this was one. (*Vide* my પુણ્ય યાત્રાતરની યોદ્ધા.)

3 The translator in both cases—in that of this book and that of the preceding *Khishtab*—speaks by mistake of Kaikhusru as being a son of Azar Kaiwan.

4 My rendering is from the names in the Gujarati book.

5 Bom. Ed. p. 30, l. 7. Shea, I, p. 89.

2. They avoided contact with ordinary people, and gave audiences mostly to their disciples.¹ They said that the masses are not to be depended upon, عوام گرفتار زمان و مکانند برخلاف تحقیق, i.e., Common people are slaves to time and place, as opposed to truth.
3. They advised people to stick to their own religions. One need not give up his religion to follow their views.²
4. They kept their tenets secret even from relatives.³

As to the practices and observances, observed by Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, many of them may be termed extraordinary or the miraculous. I will enumerate some of these. We see some of these, and hear of some of these, as being practised, even now, here and there, by some persons. Some of them can be explained in one way or the other. But there are others that cannot be explained.

1. They formed themselves into inanimate forms. If one struck them with a sword they changed themselves into a stone which broke the sword.⁴
2. They divested themselves of physical bodies when they liked and returned to the bodies when they liked.⁵
3. They read the secret thoughts of others.⁶
4. They resorted to different modes of sleeping. One of these, was known as *Murdah khasp* or *Murdah khab* or *Sâônôs*.⁷ In this process

1 Bom. Ed. p. 31, l. 10. Shea and Troyer, I, p. 93.

2 *Ibid.* Bom. Ed. p. 32, l. 17.

3 *Ibid.* p. 32, l. 14.

4 Shea and Troyer's Dabistan, Vol. I, p. 105.

5 *Ibid.* p. 108.

6 *Ibid.* p. 109.

7 *Ibid.* p. 111.

they do not sleep lengthwise but rest on knees and with head resting on fingers. They stopped breathing in this posture. Another process was that of supporting one's self on fingers, the rest of the body not touching the ground.¹

5. They passed their whole nights in prayers without sleep.²
6. They limited their food to a very small quantity. At times they ate 50 *dirams*.³ Some ate only 10 *dirams*.⁴
7. Some of them never looked on women.⁵
8. They created, what was previously not in existence.
9. They knew the secrets of others.⁶
10. They hid things from the sight of others, though otherwise the things were visible.⁷
11. They travelled long distances in unusually short times.⁸
12. They appeared at one and the same time in distant places.⁹
13. They brought the dead to life.¹⁰
14. They deprived the life of the living by marvelous powers.¹¹

1 *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 113. 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.* p. 118. 4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.* p. 113. This reminds us of the practices of the inmates of some of the Christian monasteries of the West. There, the monks refused to see even their mother on death-bed. They did not even admit within their precincts, female animals. *Vide* my paper on the "Monastic Institution of Burma" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. of 1922. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, pp. 130-48).

6 *Ibid.* p. 114.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

15. They understood the languages of (a) animals, (b) vegetables and (c) minerals.¹
16. They produced food and wines without any visible means.²
17. They walked over water and in fire and air.³
18. To punish the evil-minded, they produced floods in their fields and destroyed their houses.⁴ For a similar purpose, with a view to frighten the wicked, they produced extraordinary huge figures in the air.⁵
19. They changed worthless things, like broken pottery, into golden money.⁶
20. They created miraculously extraordinary houses, in entering which people saw the Sun there.⁷
21. They turned themselves into animals like crocodiles and carried away people from river banks.⁸
22. They threw clothes into fire where they did not burn.⁹
23. They repeated some words and thereby made themselves invisible to others.¹⁰
24. They appeared at times hovering in the air.¹¹
25. They produced various appearances like those of peacocks by putting burning taper in water.¹²
26. They disported themselves in blazing fires.¹³
27. They swallowed fire.¹⁴

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1 <i>Ibid.</i> I, p. 114 | 2 <i>Ibid.</i> | 3 <i>Ibid.</i> | 4 <i>Ibid.</i> p. 115. |
| 5 <i>Ibid.</i> p. 116. | 6 <i>Ibid.</i> | | 7 <i>Ibid.</i> p. 117. |
| 8 <i>Ibid.</i> p. 117. | 9 <i>Ibid.</i> | 10 <i>Ibid.</i> | 11 <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 12 <i>Ibid.</i> | 13 <i>Ibid.</i> | 14 <i>Ibid.</i> | |

28. They made houses appear as full of serpents and scorpions.¹
29. They laid particular things on the breasts of others, whereby the latter were made to answer whatever they were asked.²
30. They lighted a match (فتيله)³ in an hospitable assembly whereon there appeared Lulies (لوليان)⁴ who danced naked.
31. They suppressed their breath for hours together, at times for 12 hours at a stretch.⁵ This practice was known as Habs-i-dam (حبس دم).⁶
32. They plunged themselves into water and remained underneath it for two watches (pâs), i.e., 6 hours.
33. In the case of some disciples, some acts are described, which persons of their line of thought may speak of as acts of unusual kindness towards others. For example, a Mahomedan disciple (No. 14) saw, one night, a thief in his house. In order to let him do his work to his satisfaction, he pretended to have been in deep sleep, but, when he saw, that the thief felt disappointed, because all things were put in a secure place which the thief could not trace, he got up and pointed out to him the place where some valuables were put. This unusual kindness put the thief to shame and he left the house without taking anything.
34. They practised long breathing in particular positions of the body. While doing so, they

1 *Ibid.* I, p. 117. 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.* I, pp. 117-18. Bom. Ed. p. 38, last line. 4 *Ibid.* 5 *Ibid.* p. 118. 6 *Ibid.*

concentrated their mind upon God and on pious thoughts and personages.¹

35. Some of them never touched money in gold or silver or copper.
36. They passed two or three days at a stretch without food.
37. Some of them showed unusual kindness towards animals. A Mahomedan disciple of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, sold off his only property, a prayer-carpet and rosary, to procure medicine for a suffering dog.²
38. Some of them lived naked, day and night, summer and winter.³
39. Some of them, if injured by any person, never complained and remained quiet. One of such said, on an occasion of assault over him : " I am not distressed for my own bodily sufferings, but that person's hands and fists must have suffered so much."⁴
40. They abstained from animal food, and even never killed or injured animals.

1 *Ibid.* p. 134. The modern school or sect of the Mazdasnans, which, having been once started in America, has spread in Europe, has the practice of long and slow breathing as one of their principal tenets. They also abstain from wine and flesh.

2 *Ibid.* p. 135.

3 *Ibid.* I, p. 138. I remember seeing at Nasik, at the time of the last twelve years' *jatra* of the river Godavari at Nasik, a number of Sâdhûs on a hill, quite naked (*Vide* my paper "A Visit to Nasik on the opening days of the present Sinhast pilgrimage", *Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII, No. 5, pp. 493-527. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers, Part III, pp. 149-83).

4 *Ibid.* Shea and Troyer, p. 138.

VIII

THE BASIC BELIEF OF AZAR KAIWAN AND
HIS DISCIPLES. THEIR SUFISM.

Persia was the country of Sufism and Mysticism. Azar Kaiwan and his school seem to be influenced partly by the prevalent Sufism, but they were influenced more by mysticism.

Sufism is spoken of by some as Mahomedan Theosophy. The Shiah sect of the Mahomedans do not much believe in it. One may see a trace of pantheism, in it. It is thought to be a kind of neo-Platonism. A kind of union with God, is the principle tenet of its belief. The Sufis use much of symbolism and they explain some ordinary expressions as symbolic and expressive of some mystic meaning. For example, they thus explain some ordinary expressions as follows: (a) When Sufistic poets like Hafiz speak of Love, it is divine love. (b) Embracing and kissing in their writings are raptures of Divine love. (c) Sleep is contemplation. (d) Wine is Divine knowledge. An ale-house, which Hafiz speaks of as being in charge of an old Mobad (Pîr-i Moghan), is a place for drinking Divine knowledge. The drunken in this ale-house are people drunk with Divine knowledge. The drunkenness there is the cheerfulness of religious thoughts. (e) Beauty is God's glory and so on.

Though Sufism has elements derived from the learning and thoughts of various countries, Persia is said to be its cradle.¹ A recent writer says, "Persia,

¹ At times, the whole class of Sufis, and, at times, a certain sect of them is spoken of as Mystics

a country peopled by Shiah Mahomedans, situated between Turkey and Afghanistan, which are peopled by Sunnis, their sworn antagonists, has exercised a profound influence. In Persia, the conception of God as an austere despot, whose chief attribute is merciless power which is the conception of Orthodox Islam, never took deep root. On the other hand, Mahomedan mysticism, which sprang partly from the influence of Christian monks and anchorites in Arabia and partly from the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria, found in Persia, the home of Manes and the early Gnostics, a congenial soil."¹

There are various classes of mystics, *e.g.*, *qalandars*² and *mulâmati*³. But a member of the strict Sufi sect is superior to these, because the above two, though they have renounced the world, acknowledge a superior, but the Sufi acknowledges no spiritual head. Azar Kaiwan's class acknowledged spiritual heads. As to Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, their views were somewhat Sufistic with a mixture of some Indian practices of Yoga. As said above, though Sufism has taken its element from the learning of various countries, Persia is said to be the cradle or its early home. So, the question is: Was there anything like Sufism among the ancient Mazdayasnan Persians? According to the Dabistan, it was there. The belief of the school of Azar Kaiwan was a kind of mysticism based on Sufistic ideas prevalent in Persia,

1 "With the Afghans," by C. Field, Chap. XII, p. 183.

2 قلندر, "a kind of itinerating Muhammadan monk, with shaven head and beard, who abandons everything, wife, friends, possessions, and wanders in the world." (Steingass.)

3 ملامتی, "a kind of Muhammadan monk who conceals his devotions, makes no parade of anything good, and hides nothing bad." (Steingass.)

in his time and intermixed with the thoughts of Indian mystics of the class of Sadhus and Sanyasis. So I will say here a few words (a) on Sufism and (b) examine the question: Whether there was anything like Sufism in the ancient Mazdayasnan Persia? and, if so, to what extent? At first, let us see what Sufism is.

The word Sufism has been variously derived, but the generally accepted derivation is from (a) What is Sufism. *suf* (صوف) wool, because the Sufis generally put on woolen garments.¹ The principal or basic idea on which Sufism rests, or round which it turns, is that of Divine Love, or Union or Communion with God.² All men in their prayers, whether formal prayers or extempore prayers, or in prayerful thoughts, carry their thoughts to God. Expressing their dependence upon God, they implore Him for the fulfilment of their wishes, for their happiness. They pour forth all their devotion in this direction and put themselves into a kind of communion with God. They, as it were, talk with their God. The literate as well as the illiterate, in their high sounded or simple language give an expression to their thoughts. They

1 Some derive it from *suf* (i.e., rank). They say, that the Sufis are those who are men of (first) rank, as they are always engaged in communion with God. (b) Others derive it from *suffā* (صفا) "large smooth stones." The Sufis are said to be "the people of the bench" (اهل الصفا). The Sufis had no home of their own; so they rested at night on the stone benches outside the mosque. (c) Others derive it from *safā* (صفا) purity, because the Sufis are pure in character. (d) Others connect the word with Gr. *Sophos*, wisdom, as the Sufis are all expected to be wise. (Vide Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, article by Prof. Nicholson).

2 A lady Sufist, Rabia, of the 1st century A. C., is said to be the first person founding mysticism with this idea of Divine Love and Union with God.

pour forth their expression of dependence upon God, and, in turn, pray for His love, for His kindness, what we call Divine Love is love of that kind. It is man's love for God and God's love for man. As said by a recent writer on Sufism, this "religious emotion common to all mankind, is, so to speak, raised to its highest power in the mystics. They are overwhelmed by the sense of the Divine omnipresence and of their own dependence on God. They are dominated and intoxicated by their vivid sense of the closer relation subsisting between the soul and God. They conceive themselves as being in touch with God, feeling His motions in their souls, and at times rising to the beatific vision and blinded by excess of light. These religious experiences were the rough material out of which the doctrinal reasoned system, set out in treatises like the *Lawâ'ih* was built up. Psychologists have advanced various theories as to the genesis of these experiences.... The source of Sûfi theology was Neo-Platonism."¹

Platonism, as taught by Plato (B.C. 429-347), who is said to have travelled a good deal, and to have gone even to Persia, was following the teachings of Socrates whose pupil Plato was. This Platonism was imbued with the idea that Wisdom was the attribute of the Godhead. If we may take some liberty of using Iranian phraseology we may say that he believed in *Mino-i-Kherad* (مینو کی خرد), i.e., the Divine Spirit of Wisdom. To know this, is the intellectual necessity of Man. It is a great blessing. Persevere after Wisdom as you would pursue one whom you love. Such a perseverance and pursuit would purify your soul. That will lead you from Dark-

1 "*Lawâ'ih*", a Treatise on Sûfism by Nûr-ud-dîn Abd-ur Rahman Jâmi with a Translation by E. H. Whinfield and Mîrzâ Muhammad Kazvîni (1914), Preface p. VII.

ness to Light. You will be illuminated. Such a perseverance, such an illumination, require communion with God, or, in the words of Parsi Scriptures, a kind of relationship with God (خویشی یزدان). They are the result of such a communion. This impulse of the soul to be in communion with God leads one to the high ideal of being like God. Unless you are not something, however little, like God, you will not have that communion. Those of the Persian Sufis who took up the above idea of being illuminated by perseverance and pursuit of Wisdom were known as the Ishraqiāns (اشراقین), i.e., the Illuminati. The word comes from sharg (شرق) the rising of the sun in the East (*mashraq* مشرق). They were called Ishraqians or Illuminati, because they looked for intellectual light or illumination or intuition and had got some of it. According to the Dabistan, Izad (ایزد), the God of the Parsis, is the same as the Allāh of the Arabs, the Para Brahma Narayana (परब्रह्म नारायण) of the Hindus.¹

Neo-Platonism is looked to, more than Platonism itself, as a source that influenced Persian New Platonism. Sufism. After Plato and Aristotle, the oriental and occidental civilization of Greece and Persia began to be united, as it were, in a new civilization with a new philosophy, which, latterly, came to be known as Neo-Platonism, which is much associated with the name of Philo Judæus, and of which the foremost teacher was Plotinus (205-270 B.C.). It contained elements of pantheism and aimed at eclecticism. It tried to reconcile the old philosophy of Plato with the philosophy of the East

¹ Bom. Ed., p. 28, l. 1. It writes the Indian name as یار برهم نرنجن. The last part, Naranjan, is a mistake for Narayan (ناراین). Shea and Troyer's text gives the name correctly.

including that of Persia. Its tendency was towards mysticism and towards theurgy. This theurgy is said to have begun with Egyptian Platonists who took it as a science or a theory of knowledge conveyed by God to exceptional men who practised certain acts, observed certain observances, and, thereby, acquired powers of knowing the future and supernatural secrets.

Prof. A. Harnack thus sums up the aim of Neo-Platonism: "Neo-platonism claimed to be not merely the absolute philosophy, the keystone of all previous systems, but also the absolute religion, reinvigorating and transforming all previous religions. It contemplated a restoration of all the religions of antiquity, by allowing each to retain its traditional forms, and at the same time making each a vehicle for the religious attitude and the religious truth embraced in Neo-platonism; while every form of ritual was to become a stepping stone to a high morality worthy of mankind. In short, Neo-platonism seizes on the aspiration of the human soul after a higher life, and treats this psychological fact as the key to the interpretation, of the universe. Hence the existing religions, after being refined and spiritualized, were made the basis of philosophy."¹

The Ishrâqiâns
of Persia were
Platonists.

The Dabistan says :

از عارف بحق سبحانی نامه نگار شنید که در عقاید صوفیه
همانست که اشراقیان راست اما صوفیه اکنون عقاید خود بر رمز
و اشارت در آمیخته اند تا ناهل در نیابد بر سنت انبیا و اولیا
و قدمای حکما

*Translation :—*The author (*nameh nagâr*) has heard from Shabjâni, the knower of the truth, that, in the

¹ Encycl. Brit. 9th ed., Vol. XVII, p. 333, col. 2.

tenets of the Sufis, there is the same thing, which is with the Ishraqis. But the Sufis have now mixed up their beliefs with enigmas (*ramz*) and mysterious allusions. So that, incapable persons (*nâ-ahl*) do not find their door, (*i.e.*, way) to the instructions (*sunnat*) of the prophets and saints and ancient sages.

The Ishraqis are, according to the writer of the Dabistan, followers of the teachings of Plato. He says this in the section, wherein he speaks of the sect of the Akhbâris (اخبارين),¹ (*i.e.*, the followers of historical information, *akhbâr*) founded by Mulla Mahamad Amin of Astrabad. This sect was divided into several sub-sects. One of these was that of Matakalamîn (متكلمين, *i.e.*, the speakers, the declaimers).² Another sect was Hokmâ-i-Mashâyin (حکما مشائين, *i.e.*, philosophers who follow or who are escorted). They were so called because they followed the stirrup of Arstu (ارسطو Aristotle).³ The Dabistan says that "When Arstu (Aristotle) was the *Vazir* of Alexander and when he went to and fro (*taraddud*) to the palace (*daulat-khaneh*) of Alexander, then they acquired knowledge from him while walking with him (وقتیکه ارسطو وزیر اسکندر شده بود و تردد بدولت خانه اسکندر میکرد در آن اثنا اخذ علوم از ارسطو میکردند)."⁴

Their another sect was that of the Hukmâ-i-Ishrayin (اشرائين). They were given training in the line of *riyâzat* by Aflatun (Plato) the teacher of Aristotle (افلاطون که استاد ارسطو است تعلم و تعلیم بطریق ریاضات کرده است).⁵

Now, it is this Platonism and Neo-Platonism that are said to have influenced to a great extent Persian Sufism. Mr. Whinfield, Influence of the Platonists and Neo-Platonists. in his above referred to book⁶, thus

1 Bom. Ed. p. 229, l. 18, Shea, Vol. II, p. 372. 2 *Ibid.* p. 230, l. 2. Shea and Troyer speak of them as the Scholastics. *Ibid.* p. 273. 3 Bom. Ed. p. 230, l. 4. 4 *Ibid.* p. 230, l. 5. 5 *Ibid.* l. 7. 6 Lawa'ih *op. cit.* Preface p. VII.

refers to the question of the influence. "The title of the book, *Lawā'ih* or 'Flashes of Light', suggests the philosophy employed to systematize and give a reasoned basis for the unreasoned 'experiences' of unlearned Sūfis. It of course refers to the 'inner light'. The Platonists were called *Ishraqīn* or *Illuminati* because they regarded intellectual intuition or intuitive reason (*Nous*) as the main source of knowledge, whereas the Peripatetics (*Mashshā'in*) recognized no sources of knowledge except the senses and the discursive reason (*Dianoia*). The word *Ishraq* or *Lights* is often met with in this connection.....Haji Khalfa, in his article on Sufism (*Tasawwuf*), says, that any one who reads Sufi books cannot fail to remark that their terminology is borrowed from the Platonists (*Ishraqīn*) and more especially from the later ones, i.e., the Neo-Platonists.It was probably at about the end of the fifth century A.H. that Neo-Platonic *gnosis* began to influence and modify Sufi doctrine.....We have (Imam) Ghazālī's own account of the way in which he was attracted to Sufism, and other passages in his writings prove that he used the forms of Greek thought to explain Sufi principles. If it be asked how Greek philosophy reached Ghazālī, who was a native of Khurāsān, the answer is easy. When Justinian closed the schools at Athens, Damascius and his Neo-Platonist brethren fled to the court of Nushirvān. They only remained there about a year and left in 533 A.D. but Nushirvān had some translations of Neo-Platonist books made at the time, and these were followed by many others, made two centuries and a half later, under the Abbasides at Baghdād. Greek philosophy was expounded by the so called Arabian, but really Persian, philosophers.....Neo-Platonism, mainly in the form expounded by Plotinus, was used by all the more learned Sufis to explain and justify the simple emotional

sayings of the early Sufis. Henceforward Neo-Platonism pervades all systematic treatises on Sufism.....Even the poets use Greek terminology.....The central doctrine of Islam 'There is no God but Allah' was restated in the form 'There is no real Being and no real Agent (*Fa'il-i-haqiqi*) but the One, the 'Truth' (*Al Haqq*). Allah was not entirely stripped of personal attributes, such as will and consciousness, but He has ceased to be conceived as a purely supramundane Deity, enthroned above the empyrean heaven, creating the world by one fiat, ruling His subjects like some mighty monarch, by commands and prohibitions, and paying them wages according to their deserts. He has become a Being immanent and 'deeply interfused' in the universe, and giving it all the real existence it has. The Koran speaks of Allah as omniscient, but omniscience was now expanded into 'omni-essence' if one may use such a word. It was the Platonian doctrine of the 'One' and its Emanations which furnished the Sufi theologians with the material for the wider conception of 'The Truth,' the ultimate divine ground of all things, the 'Substance' as Spinoza called it...The Sufi theologians adopted the Neo-Platonist view that the ritual law is not binding upon spiritual men." (Preface, pp. VII-XII.)

I have quoted Mr. Whinfield, at some length, as he sums up, in brief, the question of the influence of Platonism and Neo-Platonism. We gather the following facts:

1. The religious emotion which is seen in Sufism is common to all mankind, but it is "raised to its highest power in the mystics," who are, as it were, intoxicated with the wine of "their vivid sense of the close relation subsisting between the soul and God."

2. Persian Sufis were influenced by the early Platonism and latter Neo-Platonism. The Persian Sufis especially known as Ishraqin were Platonists.
3. The Neo-Platonic philosophy of the Greeks first entered Persia in the time of the Sassanian King Noshirwan, who had welcomed in his court the Neo-Platonist philosophers of Athens who were driven away from their city by Justinian. Noshirwan got their books translated into Pahlavi. From the Pahlavi, they were translated, after the Arab conquest of Persia, into Arabic. It is those Arabic translations that Sufi writers like Ghazali and Avicena (Abu Saena)¹, Sharastani and others followed.

As said by Prof. Nicholson, "the Neo-Platonists, with their doctrine of emanation, were theists, although 'the One' of Plotinus is not a personal God; and a similar position is reached in some types of mysticism which are not so much religious as philosophical".²

We have the authority of Maqoudi to say that Platonism in Ardeshir Babegan's time. nism may have entered somewhat into Persia, long before the advance of Neo-Platonism in the time of Noshirwan. Dastur Tansar or Taosar, the Head Priest and Prime Minister of Ardeshir Babegan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, is said to have been a Platonist.

1 I had the pleasure of seeing the tomb of this philosopher at Hamadan in 1925, when I noted, that there, he was known more as a physician than a philosopher.

2 "The idea of Personality in Sufism", by Reynold A. Nicholson (1929), p. 52.

It is possible, that some mystic thoughts of the school of Plato, who is said to have travelled in Persia, may have entered into Persia from olden times, the times of the early Sassanians. Maçoudi, speaking on the view as the "Transmigration of souls" (تنقل الأرواح), says that Plato and his disciples believed in transmigration of souls. He adds that Plato believed that the soul was independent of body and passed from one body to another (من جسد الى جسد)¹. According to this same author, Ardeshir Babegan's Dastur or head priest belonged to the sect of Platonists. He says: Ardeshir had with him a holy of holy persons (زاهد من زاهدين) named Bishar² (يشر) who belonged to the Platonic religion (افلاطوني المذهب)³ or sect which sect he associates also with Socrates (سقراط). As pointed out by Prof. Darmesteter, this name Bishar is another form of the above Tansar or Taosar, who was the head priest of Ardeshir Babegan⁴. With a change of *nukhtahs* (dots) over, and above, some of the letters of the word, the name Tansar or Taosar can be read as Bishar.

Thus, we see, that it is pointed out that, since Ardeshir Babegan's time, the mystic side of Platonism had begun to be known, to some extent, in Persia. So, the theory of the soul being independent of the body, and of its transference from one body to another,

1 Maçoudi traduit par B. de Meynard, Vol. IV, p. 66, l. 5, Chap. LXVII. 2 *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 161, ll. 7-8, Chap. XXIV. 3 *Ibid.*

4 For this Dastur's influence in the court of Ardeshir Babegan, vide Darmesteter's article in Journal Asiatique, Neuvième Série, Tome III (Mars-Avril 1894), pp. 185-250, (Mai-Juin 1894), pp. 502-555.

though not commonly believed, had come to be known in Persia.

The learned among the ancient Greeks, knew the ancient Persians pretty well. They knew Persia and its religion. had learnt much from the ancient Persians. So, it is possible that, in turn, they may have given something to Persia. John Fredrick Kleuker, who translated Anquetil du Perron's Zend Avesta into German,¹ has discussed the question of the knowledge of Zoroastrianism in Greece. Anthony Troyer thus sums up what Kleuker says on this subject: "It was in the sixth century B.C. that the Persian religion and philosophy became known in Europe by Hostanes, the Archimagus who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. In the fourth century B.C., Plato, Aristotle and Theopompus show a knowledge of Zoroaster's works. In the third century B.C., Hermippus treats expressly of them, as containing no less than 120,000 distichs. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, works attributed to Zoroaster are mentioned under different names by Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Pausanius, Pliny and Dion Chrysostomus². St. Clement of Alexandria, in the third century, was not unacquainted with, them. Later, the Gnostics made a great use of the oriental cosmogony and psychology, as derived from Zoroaster. The testimony of Eusebius establishes that, in the fourth

1 It consists of five volumes, three of which contain the translation and two, forming an appendix, contain his own views and deductions.

2 For the passages from some of these writers, *vide* Prof. Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran". For the translation of these and other passages from classical writers, *vide* the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 14, where they are translated by Dr. W. Sherwood Fox and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton.

century, there existed a collection of sacred works respecting the theology and religion of the Persians. It was mostly the liturgical part of them that was spread about, mixed with notions relative to the magical art. The Empress Eudokia of the fifth, and Suidas of the twelfth, century, attribute to Zoroaster several books, four of which treat of nature, one of precious stones, and five of astrology and prognostics. So much and more can be gathered from Greek and Latin works about the writings of the Persian legislator."¹

In the account of Zoroaster, as given by the Dabistan, there is a reference to the Prophet's presence before God. God tells Zoroaster, that he is the author of all that is good and not of the evil. Troyer quoting Plato from his *De Republica* says, that the above sentiment agrees with that of Plato, who says: "The author of good is God alone; but the author of evil anything else rather than God."² As said above, the Dabistan takes the people of the Ishraqian sect to be the "Platonists of Persia."³

Anthony Troyer compares Arda Viraf's resuscitation after his vision of Heaven and Hell to Plato's account (*Republica*, t. X) "of Hero, the son of Armenius, a Pamphilian by origin; viz., when this man had been killed in battle, and when, on the tenth day, the dead bodies were in a state of decomposition, he alone was preserved and carried home to be burned, and on the twelfth day, being placed upon the funeral pyre, he gave signs of life, and, resuscitated, he related what he had seen in the other world."⁴

1 Note by Anthony Troyer in Shea and Troyer's Translation of the Dabistan, Vol. I, pp. 223-24.

2 Shea and Troyer, *The Dabistan*, Vol. I, p. 237, n. 1.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 83.

4 *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 304 n.

i.e., "May your desire be fulfilled, as that of the Creator Ahura Mazda is fulfilled in His creation." Again we read (s. 4):

i.e., "Be in your actions, just as God Ahura Mazda is in His creation."

As far as communion with God is concerned, we can confidently affirm that there is much of it, in the Avesta and other Parsi books. It is beautifully expressed in the Yasna (Ha LX, 12) and recited in the Hosbam prayer, which is asked to be recited in the early morning. We read : “ Ahura Mazda.....Asha Vahishta asha sraēshta daresāma thwā pairi thwā jamyāma, hamem thwā hakhma,” *i.e.*, “ O Ahura Mazda ! May we see Thee. May we reach Thee. May we attain Your eternal friendship, by means of our best righteousness, our most excellent righteousness.”

The Gathas are replete with such expressions of union with God, by means of one's righteous conduct. Space and Time (Zravana Akarana) are infinite. So, God is infinite. God is distinct from His things created, yet, He is omnipresent in the creation. So, the Zoroastrian view of directing one's mind to God is that of, "From Nature to Nature's God." Even the Ameshaspentas, the bountiful Spirits, are all His creation (man dāmi, Hormuzd Yasht) and He Himself is an Ameshaspenta. The Yazatas are His creation and He Himself is an Yazata. The Fravashis are His creation and He Himself

has a Fravashi. It is He who bestows *kharenangha* glory, halo, splendour to many and He Himself is full of *kharenangha* (*khur*). He is omnipresent in His creation, but still He is separate from it. So, when homage is paid to His creation, then that homage is paid to Him. Threefold homage is due to Him at first (Nemasê tê Ahura Mazda, nemasê tê Ahura Mazda, nemasê tê Ahura Mazda, thrischit paro anyâish dâmana). But, when we come to the question of other particular beliefs of the School of Azar Kaiwan, we have to say, 'No' to the above question.

Let us first take the question of the transmigration of soul. Zoroastrian books do not speak of this belief. The transmigration of soul, believed in by some nations of the East, have two forms. One is that of transmigration in general, *i.e.*, transmigration even into animals or plants. The second is that of the transmigration of soul into another human form. This is same as re-incarnation. The view of Zoroastrian writings is against these transmigrations. Zoroastrianism does not say 'No' in so many words. But its views generally say 'No.' I personally should say a qualified 'No.' I will make myself clear, when I say "qualified."

Every religion that believes in the immortality of the soul believes in a kind of transmigration. It is transmigration from its former state to another state. But the main question is: Where is that other state? It is in the answer to this question that there lies the rub. It is a large academical question, suggested by Plato in his teachings at the Academy and it is still an undecided question. But, looking to the question from a practical point of view, I think it does not matter much. One cannot dogmatically say, that the next

The belief in the transmigration of soul.

state is back in this world. One cannot say "God has destined the transmigration to any part of the universe *minus* this earth." It is assuming too much. Why should God exempt earth, as the place of transmigration? Again, on the other hand, one cannot dogmatically say, that the transmigration is back to this earth and this earth alone, and not in any other part of God's Universe.

This question brings us to the question of heaven and hell. Where is Heaven or Paradise? Old Avestaic view of heaven. Where is Hell? They are not localised. If one were to ask me this question "Where is Heaven?" I shall say: "Tell me, where God is. There, where God is, there is Heaven." So, as God is omnipresent, Heaven is omnipresent. The Avesta phraseology for heaven is beautifully comprehensive. The words are "*vahishta ahu*," i.e., the best life. The words do not localise heaven. They say, that heaven is more a condition or state, than a place. The above word "*vahisht*" has given us our English word "best," which is nothing more or less than the Persian word for heaven, viz., "*behesht*" (بهشت). We know that the word 'best' is an irregular superlative of 'good.' The three degrees are "beh," "behtar" (English better) and "behesht" (English best). Be good (beh), and that is your first step towards Heaven. Then try to be better (behtar), and that is your second step towards Heaven. Then try to be best (behesht), and that is your third step towards Heaven. Your heaven, your paradise, your *behesht* is in your hands. You need not wait till death to go to Heaven. Do all you can in this very world to be good, to be better and to be best. That is your progress towards your Heaven, towards your *behesht*. Thus, when your soul passes, even in its lifetime here, from 'good' to 'better' and from 'better' to 'best',

it has a kind of transmigration from one stage to another. But this single life is not sufficient. Soul is immortal. It has still a future before it, where it may still advance towards perfection, the embodiment of which perfect condition is in God. Addison has, in one of the papers of his *Spectator*, very beautifully expressed the thought of this advancement—a thought which is similar to that of communion with God, or union with God. Imagine two parallel lines. God is at the upper end of one line. A man's soul is at the lower end of another line. It rises and rises to go to the top of the line where God stands; but the lines are parallel and they never meet; so, the advancement towards perfection is, as it were, eternal as God is eternal.

But one must bear in mind, that there is no advancement in the case of every soul. There may be advancement and retreat, rise and fall. A man's soul may advance from good to better and from better to best. But, that is not always so. In some cases there may be a check; there may be a fall. The fall may be from good to bad, from bad to worse, from worse to worst. The same is the case with the soul which, being immortal, exists somewhere, we do not know where. This view of the rise and fall is very beautifully expressed by Thomas Moore, in his "Fall of the Angels" which forms an episode of his beautiful "Lalla Rookh." Therein, we learn, that three angels who boasted and thought too much and too highly of themselves in the presence of God, fell from heaven. On the other hand an ordinary songstress, a woman not highly spoken of, rose from the earth to the Heaven. All these considerations lead us to say that in the matter of the belief in the "transmigration of soul,"—as ordinarily understood—back to this earth, we may say a qualified "no." It may be or may not be. It is *terra incognita*.

Coming to the question of the mortification of the body and of the austerities practised by Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, we can positively say "no". The Avesta is averse to all these. One may perhaps suspect, that there may be something of this kind in the times of the Avesta; and so, it was for this reason, that the Avesta speaks strongly against fasting, celibacy and some austerities. For example,

Zoroastrian view
of Mortification and
Austere Practices.

1. Azar Kaiwan's school of Sufis favour celibacy. The Avesta is dead against it (Vendidad, Chap: IV, 47).
2. Azar Kaiwan's school favours self-mortification as one of the ways to be in union with God. The Avesta is quite opposed to this view. On the contrary, it preaches *mens sana in corpore sana*. It is replete with instructions to take care of the body. It says that physical health will lead to mental and moral health.
3. They favoured fasting and abstinence from food. They practised these to such an extent, that they lived only on a few dams or grains of food. Azar Kaiwan lived on a daily ration of one dam. Zoroastrianism simply preached moderation and not abstinence. A full meal was taken to be a means for a healthy spiritual life. Pliny says of Zoroaster that he lived simply on cheese. But that even does not mean that it was abstinence of the above kind. The Vendidad says, that the more the wheat is grown, the more are the evil powers crushed.
4. This school practised and preached asceticism. Zoroastrianism was opposed to such a life. It preached industry and hard work.

It seems that the Parsees of the last century looked with some favour towards the broad general feature of the lives of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, *viz.*, the feature of a kind of unworldliness and devotion to God. They looked less towards their austerities and more towards their devotion to God. It was that view of their life that led them to look with favour and respect towards the Dabistan and Desatir and towards writings of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan. They encouraged and patronised translations of those writings. The Desatir was translated by Mulla Feroze and published by his successor. The Dabistan was translated and published by Dastur Edalji Sanjana. The Sharistan-i-Chahar Chaman was translated—really speaking, it is more a free version than translation—by the same learned Dastur, but the translation has as yet remained unpublished. The Jam-i-Kaikhusrū was translated and published with the text by Munshi Abdul Fatah under the patronage of the first Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy, Baronet, and his Translation Fund. Three other treatises, *Khishtab*, *Zardasht Afshar* and *Zindehrud*, were published and translated by Ervad Dossabhai Munshi under the same patronage. Even now some devoted Parsees look with favour towards these publications. The foundation of the Theosophical Society in Bombay, about fifty-five years ago, has drawn attention to, and has led to the study of, these books. The Jam-i-Kaikhusrū has gone through a second edition, the text of the Sharistan-i-Chahar Chaman has been published by a Persian Zoroastrian. Azar Kaiwan's school was more or less a Persian school, *i.e.*, a school of the Zoroastrians of Persia. He seems to have had only one disciple from the Bombay side. He was from Surat. We do not know by which way Azar Kaiwan and his disciples came to India and

went to Patna. Perhaps, they came to India, as it was then usual, by sea and landed at Surat which was then the port of embarkation and debarkation. They then went to Patna. Perhaps, it was during their stay at Surat at this time that they attracted toward them, Rustam the Parsee of Surat who is mentioned as a disciple of Azar Kaiwan.

It is this inclination or bent of mind towards mysticism and occulticism that led to the publication of a book in Gujarati called *Makulāt-i Bahmani*, a similar book of mysticism.

Makulāt (ماکولات)-i Bahmani, i.e., the Eatables of Bahman.¹ The Gujarati book was, at first, written by Dastur Mulla Kaus bin Rustam, at the instance of Wadiaji Saheb Bahmanji Nowroji in 1157 A.Y., i.e., 1788 A.C., and was published with some explanatory additions, in 1842 A.C., by Fardunji Marzbanji. It is said to be a version, as given in Persian *Kershasp-nameh*, of a conversation between Kersasp, a hero and ancestor of Rustam, and a Brahmin. The following title of the book explains the whole matter :—

“ માકુલાતે બહમની

“એ કેતાબમે ફેરશાશપ નાંમાં મધેનાં ફેરશાશપ તથા બરહેમંન વચે થાએલા દાનાંધનાં જવાબ શવાલોમોથી થોડાએક જવાબ શવાલ તથા તે શાથે એ માકુલાતે બહમની કેતાબનાં બનાવનાંર ઓશતાદે પોતાંની તરફથી ફટલીએક હેકમત તથા દાનાંધ તથા ખોદા શનાંશી તથા નશીહતો તથા નજુમ તથા શેતારાવોની ગરદેશ તથા ચેહારે ઓનશોરની આખત તથા દીને માંજદીઅશનીનાં નાંદેર શાખતો અને તે વનાંએ ખીજુ ધણુ એક મોખતેશરમો દાખેલ કરેલું છે.

એ કેતાબ

ખેહશત ખેહરે વાડીઆજી શાહેબ બહમંનજી નવશેજીની ફરમાંએશથી શને ૧૧૫૭ ખચજદજરદીનાં શાલમો ફેરદોશ નીશીન ઓશતાદ. દશતુર મોલા કાઉશ ખીને રશતંમ ભરવચી. લકખે. જલાલનાંએ બનાવી છે.

1 I am thankful to Mr. Hoshang T. Anklesaria, the owner of the Press, where this work is published, for drawing my attention to it.

એ કેતામની એબારત ધણી મુશ્કેલ હતી. તેહને ફરદુનજી મેએદ
અરબ્યાનજી એ જાપતી વેલાએ કંઠિએક ફરાવીને આશાન કરી આપી છે.
શ્રી મુમયઈ મધે કાવશજી ફરદુનજીએ દક્તર આશકારનાં
જાપાખાનાંમોં જાપી છે.

શને ૧૨૧૧ ધઅબજેનરદી, શને ૧૮૪૨ ધશવી.”

The book is called *Makulāt-i Bahmani*, *i.e.*, *Eatables* of Bahman, from the name of Bahmanji Nowroji Wadia, under whose patronage it was published (*Ibid.* p. 6).¹ This book itself, being on some kind of occultism or mysticism, refers to Azar Kaiwan and some of his disciples, *e.g.*, Azar Kaiwan (on page 56) of whom the author speaks as (શરતાજ બશતે કુસ્તીઆન) a *sartāj* (سرتاج, crown of the head, *i.e.*, leader) of the Zoroastrians (lit., those who tie the *kusti*), and as having visited Kashmir, Akbarabad (Agra) and Patna in the time of Akbar, in the year about 935 or 937 A.Y., *i.e.*, 1566 or 1568 A.C. Its author also, mistakenly speaks of Azar Kaiwan having a son. He speaks of a work of Azar Kaiwan as “મોગઈઅખાતે આબર કેવાન”, (مغیبات, *Mysteries of Azar Kaiwan*). This author refers to Farshidmard having written a *Pand-Nāme* (a book of advice) in the name of Ardeshir Babegan (p. 28). It was translated into Arabic by Shaikh Abou Barakat of Bagdad under the name of *Badāe-ul-Hekmat* બદાએ હેકમત (بدایع الحکمت, *Marvels of Science*). He speaks of *Kheshtāb* as having been written by *Aspandyār bin Behram* in the reign of *Khoshru Parvez*. He speaks of the *Sharistān-i Chahār Chaman* having been written by *Behdin Behram bin Aspandyār* at the instance of *Mobad Sarosh* and *Mobad Hush* in the time of Akbar. He also speaks of a book *Zur'a-i bāstān* (ઝેર એ બાશતાન, زرعہ باستان, *i.e.*, the seeds of ancient times) containing a letter, with commentary, written by Prophet Zoroaster upon an Indian King.

1 Among the adjectives applied by the publisher, Mr. Fardunji Marzbanji to Dastur Mulla Kaus, the following draw our attention: (a) *અતલમહીરો અવાન*, *i.e.* the Ptolemy of the time (آوان, pl. of Arab. آن, *ime*), and (b) *અરશદ નેશાન*, *i.e.*, having the character (*nishān*) of Aristotle.

APPENDIX.

I have said above in section IV, under the marginal heading of "3. The Sharistân", that the book has only three *chamans* that are known. After the proofs of the above paper were paged, Mr. Hoshang Tehmuras Anklesaria, the owner of the Press, where the paper is being printed, on happening to read the paper, kindly sent me a lithographed copy of the Sharistân-i Chahâr Chaman belonging to Prof. M. D. Minocherhomji, which contains the 4th *chaman*. It is published by Mobad Behram Bizan, Mobad Khudadad Mobad Ardashir Khodabandeh and Rustam, son of (pûr-i) Behram Sarush Takti, in Bombay in 1279 Yazdazardi¹. The publishers say that the book of Sharistân-i Chahâr Chaman was written by Farzaneh Behram ibn Farhad bin Aspandiyar Yazdani,² a disciple of Azar Kaiwan,³ son of Azar Gushasp, who was descended from the fifth Sassan. They say that, among other sciences, the work also contains the science of Geography (علم جغرافيا)⁴. They then say that they, all the three, tried their best to search for the 4th *chaman*. They inquired from all the libraries of Hindustan, but they did not succeed⁵. At last, they saw Dastur Manockji⁶, son of the late Dastur Rustamji (son of) the late Jamsetji Unwala (عون والہ)⁷. Mr. Manockji Unwala showed them three volumes (جلد) of the Sharistân-i Chahâr Chaman. One of these was from the property of Shah Akbar⁸ (مالہ عہد سلطنت مرحوم مغفور اکبر شاہ دہلی). It was written about

1 *Vide* the title-page. 2 *Ibid.* Dibacheh, p. 4, l. 1.

3 *Ibid.* l. 4. 4 *Ibid.* l. 8. 5 *Ibid.* l. 13. 6 *Ibid.* ll. 14-15.

7 For the life of this gentleman, *vide* my "Life-sketch of Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala" in the Darab Hormuzyar's Rivâyat, with my Introduction (pp. I-IX).

8 Dibacheh of the above lithographed edition, p. 5, l. 4.

525 years before¹. This lithographed edition by the above three Irani gentlemen was, as said above, published in 1279 Yazdazardi. So, the date of this manuscript of King Akbar comes to $(1279 - 525 =) 754$ Yazdazardi, i.e., $(754 + 631 =) 1385$ A.C. Mr. Manockji Unwala then said to them that they may look into the collection of books of the late Manockji Saheb, son of Limji Hataria². They took the permission of the late Shapurji Behramji Katrat (کترت)³, the manager of this Kitab-khaneh, and copied the 4th *chaman* from it and embodied it in their present edition. The library of the late Manockji Limji Hataria, which was accommodated in the Zarthoshti Anjuman Atash Behram, has now passed into the hands of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. So, it will be well if the 4th *chaman*, as given in the last lithographed edition referred to above, is carefully examined and translated, before accepting it as the real 4th *chaman*.

1 *Ibid.* l. 4.

2 *Ibid* p. 5, l. 7.

3 Katrak, *Ibid.* l. 14.

GOD IN THE GĀTHĀS AND IN THE RĠG-VEDA

BY LATE REV. FR. DR. R. ZIMMERMANN, S.J., PH.D.

[I am grieved to say that the author of this paper died at Feldkirch (Austria) on the 8th February 1931, before the paper could be printed and so, mistakes in the paper, if any, will have to be looked upon with indulgence.—*Editor*.]

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The subject-matter of the Government Research Scholarship Lectures of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, for the year 1929, was "God in the Gāthās and in the Rġveda".¹ Historical circumstances have separated, it seems, the two religions, more than the languages, of the Iranian and the Indian parts of the whole Indo-Iranian group, so far as they are preserved in their literary documents. Greater weight naturally was given to the theological problem of the Gāthās, though the Rġveda generally is taken to be an older literary and religious document than the Avesta, even the Gāthās. The origin of the Gāthās seems to offer a better circumscribed ground of enquiry than the Rġveda; yet it would be idle to try to grasp fully one without the other. The treatment of the subject suggests the following:—

A. God in the Gāthās:

I. Introduction: History of the Problem (with special reference to the Avesta) and the Method of its solution.

II. One or Many?

III. Person or Power?

B. God in the Rġveda.

¹ These Lectures were delivered at the Institute premises on the 25th and 28th November, and the 2nd, 13th, 16th and 17th December 1929.

A. GOD IN THE GĀTHĀS.

I. INTRODUCTION : HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM AND
METHOD OF ITS SOLUTION.

It seems easier to fix the conception of the deity which the ancient Iranians had formed than the real idea of God which is expressed or supposed by the R̥gveda. For, it is not so difficult to find out what or whom the Iranian Aryans, at a given point of their literary history, worshipped as the Highest Principle, as it is on the Indo-Aryan, side. The reasons are obvious. The line of evolution seems simpler and straighter; the creed preached in the Gāthās, for instance, is at least, to a certain extent, the creation and teaching of one man, expressed in his own words, whereas the Vedic hymns are composed by many. Whatever may have been the extent of the change, which Zarathuštra's reformed teaching implied, his doctrine was never pressed into the service of any but the highest deity. Observation of private and public life may have induced him to acknowledge the (temporary) rule of a principle antagonistic to the highest and essentially good, but still Zarathuštra never wavered for a moment where, in the end, the victory would be.

As the Indo-Aryans, so also the Irano-Aryans, had neither statues nor pictures; whatever elements of an earlier religion may have been taken over and have survived as relics in the new creed, such remnants were not incorporated into the new doctrinal system—unless they fitted well—as they stood, but in a form which in all probability was elevated and spiritualised. For an impartial observer, it is clear that the Mazda religion is dogmatic and consistent to an extent to which very few, if any, of the sister religions of the Indo-European family are. It is a historical fact that the Greeks, who came into the longest and closest touch with

the ancient Iranians, were struck by their ideal and spiritual conception of the deity. Mazdāh Ahura is not only more clearly a supreme, but also a more spiritual deity than any other Aryan god. This pure and spiritual character is shared by the pantheon—if this term is at all correct—of the Avesta; it surpasses those of other Aryan peoples.

It is very common indeed to speak of Zoroastrianism as Dualism: the two highest principles, Mazdāh Ahura, Ormuzd, and Añra Mainyu, Ahriman, being antagonistic. A classical work of the earlier modern critical Avesta literature bears the title: Ormazd et Ahriman; Greek writers from Aristotle to Agathias treat Mazdayasnm as a dualistic system. Shahrasthānī, an Arabic writer of the 11-12th century, institutes a philosophical inquiry into the magic dualism, and its phases and shapes. It cannot be denied that the Gāthās speak of the warring mainyū pourviyē (Cf. 45.2); it may be that dualism, which was latent in Indo-Iranian belief, was taken from the pre-reformed creed and incorporated by Zoroaster into his own system. It may even seem that the universe appears as "split into two halves", one owing allegiance to Mazdāh Ahura and the other to Añra Mainyu, and that thus *de facto* an empire of Bad stood against a realm of Good. But the question seems to be, whether this division was *de jure*, by right, and recognised by Zarathuštra as something philosophically and dogmatically necessary. It is beyond doubt that Mazdāh Ahura's power appears restricted by Añra Mainyu and his deeds, but the question is whether this state of affairs is only tolerated by Mazdāh Ahura for the time being, or imposed upon him by an outside power, whether it is on sufferance, to be done away with as soon as Mazdāh Ahura decrees it, or whether the Evil One and his kingdom have an existence and jurisdiction of their own, and

yield a power which can be neither increased nor decreased by Mazdāh Ahura.

Zarathuštra was a man of deep insight into human nature and possessed a comprehensive knowledge of life. It is thus but natural that his reform includes, nay consists of, a social and economical change, as a natural ground on which to rear the spiritual structure of a new doctrine. Zoroaster's reform, like every other great impulse and uplift, that changed the history of peoples and built houses for nations to last for centuries and millenniums, started with the stomach and from thence rose to head and heart. *Mens sana in corpore sano* was the motto, which he carried out in Iran, before it was pronounced in Rome. On the economic side, it needs no proof that Zarathuštra's doctrine meant a progress which was as great as it was sound. It would be idle to speculate, what rank the reformer assigned to the two sides of his reform, the economical and the religious, or what proportion he saw between them. Economic reform was necessary for the religious change; the religious reform made the great sacrifices worth while, which he had to make in his mission, and gave the mere material change a spiritual meaning.

Nor should it be subject to doubt that Zoroaster's religious reform has been looked upon by himself and by others as a change from Bad to Good, at least from Worse to Better. Taking it that the belief in God as one, the primary and universal principle of being and movement, is a higher stage than the belief in many gods, and seeing that duality is the last stage before unicity, it is to be presumed that Zarathuštra at least aimed at monotheism. Thus, the prejudice in favour of a monotheistic reform by Zarathuštra is justified. The tendency from the many to the one God is clearly traceable in the sister religion of the unreformed ancient Persian doctrine, in the creed professed

and practised by those Aryas who, at that time, were battling their way into the Indian Peninsula. It may thus again safely be presumed that the belief in one God was not wholly absent from the pre-Zoroastrian religion. Whether the unifying process had arrived at such a form of dualism as to put the Principle of Good and that of Vad on a par, we cannot say. But it is likely that dualism, being numerically such a close neighbour of monotheism, if and such as it existed, was developed by Zarathuŝtra in the sense of his own system and incorporated into it.

Like all great reformers, Zarathuŝtra took over as much, and changed as little, of the old as was compatible with the consistency of his teaching. It was but a reflection of his own, often enough bitter, experiences when he represented the two principles as being necessarily at war with one another. He found himself up against what seemed to be unsurmountable difficulties and determined resistance, to such an extent that at times he asked himself: "Shall I ever carry out my mission successfully?" There was a consolation in the higher parallel that Mazdāh Ahura's power also was restricted by Aŋra Mainyu. But, under such circumstances, it is indeed plausible that Zarathuŝtra's dualism is optimistic: as he in moments of quiet reflection and cool calculation could not give up faith in final success, without giving up himself, so was Mazdāh Ahura in the end victorious, and the Empire of the Good Principle would be universal and everlasting after the definite overthrow of the power of Darkness and Untruth. Thus Zoroaster's dualism is in reality monotheistic, a quasi-monotheism. And unless we sever theology and philosophy in a manner, which may become fatal to both, we shall not be able to accept Haug's statement that Zoroaster's speculative philosophy is monotheism, and his theology is dualism. If the first half of the assertion is correct, as it actually is, the second is illogical and has to be rejected. The doctrine of Zoroaster

is a reflection of his own religious and psychological experience, which drove him towards victorious monotheism. The psychological-theological parallelism between the preacher and the preaching show clearly in which direction Zarathustra's final aim was lying. The monotheistic tendency of the Zoroastrian reform is confirmed by the fact that later phases of the belief accept one common cause for everything, be it Space, Time, Light, or Fate. The first three, but especially the third, make one suspect that they are but various shapes of the old Indo-Iranian Dyauspitr.

It is gratifying to see that leading Parsee thinkers and writers of today hold the same opinion about Zoroastrian dualism as has been suggested above. This is the more important because they represent the living tradition which originated the very moment the Gāthās were preached, endured through all the centuries of antiquity and medieval times, and express aspects of Zoroastrianism which possibly never were committed to writing. A mere glance at the Gāthās will convince any reader of philosophical and theological sources that, as they stand, the Gāthās cannot be the entire depository of Zoroaster's doctrine. For that doctrine, from the very beginning, was a self-contained and consistent system. Still, the Gāthās are much more a course of sermons than a well arranged logical exposé of Zoroaster's reform. Thus, it is no wonder that even such a fundamental teaching as the double causality, one good and the other bad, should be so vaguely expressed as to leave room not only for doubt but error on the part of students of the Avesta as serious as unbiassed.

The value of Avesta Tradition has its counterpart in Vedic Tradition which no amount of critical acumen can replace. It is true, tradition itself may become a source of error and lead one away from the correct interpretation of a text. It would not be difficult to adduce examples both

from Avesta and Vedic exegesis. But if the explanation of a text, which by itself is not decisive enough to impose a certain interpretation, is supported by tradition, and appears neither by the same text nor any other external authority contradicted, then tradition has to be followed. Such a case, on an unusual scale, is offered by the problem of Iranian Dualism, where the neglect or contempt of tradition has the only advantage of uncertainty and error. To form a correct and as complete as possible an idea of God in the Gāthās every bit of evidence has to be examined, concurring statements co-ordinated and subordinated, contrary pronouncements have to be balanced against one another. Literary sources like the Gāthās have, as far as possible, not only to be read with the eyes of the 20th century Parsee, but with the mentality of an actual hearer of Zarathuštra, lending a willing ear to the new but eager message conveyed by the preacher in his native land some 2500—3000 years ago.

II. ONE OR MANY ?

In Avesta Theology, the first question to be settled on the evidence of the text is whether the Gāthās teach One or Many, at least Two Supreme Principles, the sources of all Being and Movement. It is true, more than one such principle would, strictly speaking, be a contradiction in terms, and demand a still higher and final Principle which could be considered as the ultimate source and basis of the Two or More "Supreme" Principles, admitted and taught perhaps for practical purposes. The unavoidable logical conclusion arriving at One Principle might have been kept back for some reason or other by Zarathuštra from his audience, leaving it to teachers and commentators of a philosophically and theologically more matured age to proclaim the logical and metaphysical One behind the apparent Many.

It has to be admitted that the appearance, that Zarathuṣtra's doctrine is dualistic, could be given, at least favoured, by the Gāthā text itself. Relatively, a small number of passages give Mazdāh Ahura explicitly as the One, Sole Principle from which everything ultimately comes, and to which it points. At first sight, he might appear as *Primus inter pares*. But it is a little strange that Mazdayasnm has been so generally and so persistently taken as a specimen, nay sometimes as the type, of Dualism. It is the more surprising that this has been done at a time when the Avesta had long been freed from the chains that had locked it up, literally and metaphorically, and scholars of first rank had analysed the text and reconstructed a doctrine so far known mainly from hearsay. If not by explicit statement, at least by correct and easy inference, as well as by the general trend, a good number of Gāthā passages disclose Mazdāh Ahura as the One and Sole Principle, forming the physical and metaphysical basis of the universe. This principle is one and the same both for the philosophy and the theology of Zoroastrianism.

In Hā 28.4 Zarathuṣtra hopes for reward through Mazdāh Ahura; in the next line Zoroaster, as a knowing one, desires to behold in vision the throne of the most powerful Ahura and the suite of Mazdāh (28.5.) In verse 10, Mazdāh alone is to fulfil the desire of the devotee; in verse 11, the prophet, eager to deposit (with his audience) good deed and good thought, i.e., the doctrine and practice, which were the burden of his mission, prays to Mazdāh Ahura to reveal out of his spirit the fate in "the first life". Yasna 29.4ff., a compendium of Zoroaster's religious and economical reform, depicts Mazdāh Ahura as the sole authority for the reform; in his hands lie the fates and fortunes of all. Yasna 29.7 is rendered by Bartholomae: "Mazdāh Ahura, the holy one, by his command has created the word

about the fat, and the milk for those who need food." Mr. Punegar translates: "Ahura formulated that Manthra of-invocation, Mazdāh (formulated) sound for the universe, and the Bountiful-One Himself (formulated) doctrines for the enlightened ones." Different as the renderings are, they are at one in considering Mazdāh Ahura as the author of the reform that was to renew the face of the Iranian earth. To please Mazdāh Ahura is the purpose of those who hate Druj, 30.5; the kingdom of reward comes from Mazdāh Ahura, 30.8; destination for reward and the final decision rest alone with Mazdāh, 30.11. The good ones are devoted to Mazdāh, 31.1; 31.2 has an appeal of Zarathuštra to Mazdāh, emphasizing that He is the Judge (Bartholomae, Punegar=Lord) of the opposing parties. In the next line Mazdāh Ahura appears as the arbiter and awarder without appeal of sanction, because He is the founder and revealer of the order of wisdom and foolishness, of right and wrong, 31.3. Correspondingly, 31.7 shows Him planning, creating, and distributing the spaces, even as the creator of Aša.

In the above passages Mazdāh Ahura is the fountain head of Zoroaster's reform, the fundamental principle of the cosmic order, which He created and is sustaining, but He is not less the author of the moral law and order, the destinies in the first life are in His hands, in the distribution of reward He is the final arbiter:—Such was Mazdāh Ahura as He was living in the head and heart of Zarathuštra and inspiring him, as can be gathered even from the poor fragments of the Gāthic sermons alone.—In all these passages Mazdāh Ahura appears and acts alone; in the following, those pronouncements of the Gāthās are inquired into in which Mazdāh Ahura appears in company with others, mostly of course in company of the Ameša Spentas.

Who are the Ameša Spentas? The canonical Iranian

literature mentions them as the creatures of Ahura Mazdāh, His helpers in such a way that they are His agents and instruments, at times his representatives. There are very few Gāthic passages which in so many words declare that Aša, and that alone, has been created by Mazdāh Ahura. In all other respects the doctrine regarding the Ameša Spentas has its roots in the Gāthās. Throughout the whole authoritative literature, the nature and especially the position of the Ameša Spentas in the Iranian "pantheon" and their relation to Ahura Mazdāh is a mere doctrinal development of the Gāthic statements in a straight line.

It is worthy of note that the names of four of the Ameša Spentas, later called Amashaspands, are even in their grammatical form abstract qualities: Kšathra Vairya, Spenta Armaiti, Haurvatat, and Ameretat; only Vohu Manah and Aša Vahišta appearing in a more concrete form. Sraoša (masculine), Obedience, too, who at times is mentioned among the Ameša Spentas to make up the number seven, is an abstract moral quality. This abstract nature of the greater part of the whole group favours the view that the Ameša Spentas originally were conceived as attributes of Mazdāh Ahura. It should not be overlooked that just the first two, Vohu Manah and Aša Vahišta, seem to be clear extensions of Mazdāh Ahura, the Wisdom Ahura, Vohu Manah more on the side of mind and intellect, Aša rather on the moral side. Thus, it is but natural that Mazdāh Ahura in later commenting literature is represented as the Monarch whose viziers are the Ameša Spentas. Their relation to Mazdāh Ahura is correctly given by the Pahlavi literature as that of "Ministering Angels", carrying out the behests of the Most High, Ahura Mazdāh. Theologically this seems to be as much as to say that the Ameša Spentas in reality are the divine attributes, manifesting the divine nature. This

being the case the order in which Mazdāh Ahura and the Ameša Spentas are given cannot be said to be of very great importance: both, a certain regularity in the enumeration as well as exceptions from the regularity, in all likelihood, may be explained from the real meaning of the Ameša Spentas, and the context in which they occur. The very fact that the sequel varies seems to imply that it does not mean rank; the variation is so frequent that in the Avesta too we would arrive at a Henotheism *pro tempore*, technically called Kathenotheism. This has been declined for the R̥gveda, where there is much more ground for accepting it than in the Avesta, in the Gāthās especially. An enquiry into each passage in which Mazdāh Ahura appears in company of other Ahuras will show whether Mazdāh Ahura is in the mind of Zarathuštra the One and Absolute, or only the One among the Many.

Yasna 28 opens in verse 1 with a prayer to Mazdāh. The more immediate purpose are the deeds and the wisdom of Vohu Manah, the final purpose is the gratification of the Genš Urvan. Spenta Mainyu, Aša, and Vohu Manah are only instruments in the realisation of Zarathuštra's prayer and programme. Again in verse 2, Good Mind and Righteousness may refer to Zarathuštra and his hearers. In that case it is clear that they are only means for obtaining one's wishes. It seems however that Vohu Manah is addressed together with Mazdāh Ahura as the object of worship and service by Zarathuštra. But the very contents of the prayer make it intelligible why Vohu Manah is addressed and ranked side by side with Mazdāh Ahura. For right prayer has to start from Humata that it may lead to Hvaršta, according to Aša. Vohu Manah is not ranked here with Mazdāh Ahura, but with Aša, which in any case appears as a mere instrument. In 3, if we (like Punegar) take *apourviyem* as an adjective, as it seems it should be taken

then the question of parity between Mazdāh Ahura on the one hand and Vohu Manah, Aša, and the other Ahuras mentioned oftenest with him on the other, does not arise at all. Whether we take Ārmaiti as subjective devotion or a deity of the earth, she too, at best, is on the same level as the other Ahuras, and so should be regarded as lower than Mazdāh Ahura.

It appears to be the rule that, though accompanied by other Ahuras, Mazdāh Ahura, either by his appearance or the function attributed to him, is superior to the rest. Any verse of the first Gāthā, for instance, will bear out this statement. Thus in verse 9, Mazdāh, Aša and Vahišta Manah seem to be in one line through power and honour, still Mazdāh Ahura is given a special place by the prophet's addressing himself solely to him at the beginning. The inverted order is observed in 29.10, where Mazdāh Ahura, Aša and Vohu Manah indeed together grant strength and dominion; but in the end, it is declared that Mazdāh achieves it all as the First (Bartholomae). Whether this priority is one of time or extension of jurisdiction or any other superiority, the other Ahuras are made to act not only with Mazdāh, but after his example. In verse 11, in which the covenant between Zarathuštra, the Kine, and the Deity is sanctioned and sealed, Mazdāh Ahura alone is finally appealed to.

In Yasna 30.1, Zarathuštra announces, as the burden of his sermons, the praises of Ahura, the prayers to Vohu Manah, and the Mantras proper for Aša (Punegar). The passage seems to serve a more practical, especially devotional purpose, rather than express a dogmatic tenet. Ahura, in any case, is mentioned in the first place. Verse 9, for once, seems to raise all the Ahuras to the rank of Mazdāh. Such a degree of convertibility either is equivalent to perfect kathenotheism, or it is tantamount to a co-ordination in rank of Ahura Mazdāh with his own personi-

fied attributes. The latter is of course the alternative to be adopted; needless to say that it is logically and theologically perfectly correct. The same view will also explain why in verse 10, Mazdāh appears enumerated between Vohu Manah and Aša, a sequel rather rarely observed in the Gāthās, or why in 31.4 Mazdāh (and all the Ahuras) are given after Aša and before Aši and Ārmaiti. Though in verse 6, Aša and Vohu Manah function in their proper spheres, they do so as the agents of Mazdāh Ahura and the increasers of his realm. To reach that is the highest aim; all else is means to that end; that realm is Ahura's *par excellence* and all the other Ahuras are his ministers. Nothing new for our point is contained in 33.14, where Zarathuštra offers himself up to Mazdāh Ahura and Aša or in 51.20, which makes Aša, Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti and Mazdāh stand on the same level.

The examination of the passages, which show Mazdāh Ahura in company with other divine beings, yields the interesting result that he is, in a limited number of cases, put on the same rank with the other Ahuras, that in a smaller number they are raised to his level, but that nowhere he is made inferior to any one of them. Thus the impression gained from the passages, in which Mazdāh Ahura appears alone and as the One First Principle, is not contradicted by those which give him other Ahuras, especially Vohu Manah and Aša, as companions. The fact that Ahura Mazdāh is not only One First Principle, but THE FIRST PRINCIPLE, in other words, that he is not *Primus inter pares*, but the Sole and Sovereign First Principle, is amply borne out directly by numerous Gāthic passages which speak of Mazdāh Ahura's Independence.

A more definite profession of Mazdāh Ahura's sovereignty than Yasna 31.21 gives, we must not expect either in the Gāthās or, for the matter of that, in any literary

document which only contains the elements of a theology, not a ready-made system of divinity. "Through his perfect sovereignty Mazdāh Ahura will grant the everlasting company with Haurvatat and Ameretat, with Xšathra and Vohu Manah to him who in spirit and in deed is his friend." The promise of never-ending association with Haurvatat and Ameretat would also seem to suggest that Xšathra and Vohu Manah, like Haurvatat and Ameretat, in reality are nothing but divine attributes. Yasna 32, verse 2, introduces Mazdāh Ahura speaking to the tribe's chieftains, naturally through Xšathra which, consequently becomes a mere mouthpiece of Mazdāh Ahura, or his agent. Yasna 33.4-7 contain the means and the end of the "Economy of Salvation" in Zoroaster's doctrine: it is clear from these verses that Mazdāh Ahura is the overlord, the aim and end of all that forms the code of the Zoroastrian reform. Even Sraoša, to be invoked as "the greatest in the consummation" is only Mazdāh Ahura's, therefore his agent and executor of commands only. It comes a little as a surprise when in the same Yasna, verse 8, other Ahuras are given, but this time without Mazdāh Ahura. A look however at the contents of the verse shows the reason for this rather exceptional omission: Vohu Manah, Aša, Haurvatat, and Ameretat clearly appear as functionaries in their respective spheres of jurisdiction; there was really no room for Mazdāh Ahura, who before and after is brought in as the ruler and the disposer of favours and rewards in this world and the one to come.

Mazdāh Ahura knows no one besides Himself to circumscribe His will or limit His sphere of action. He rules according to his own will, 43.1. When in the same Yasna, verse 11, Sraoša is mentioned as His, Ahura Mazdāh's, the expression in a popular exposition, as the Gāthic sermons were, comes

as near as advisable to the more accurate view that Sraoša, like all other Ahuras, is but a personified divine attribute. Really nothing is wanting in clearness, when verse 16 represents the holiest spirits, such as Aša, Ārmaiti and Vohu Manah, as Mazdāh Ahura's again. As consistently as plainly 45.6 calls Ahura Mazdāh simply the greatest of all, Ahuras and all besides Himself. See also 53.8. Zoroaster concisely designates the new religion whose messenger he is as that of Mazdāh Ahura, 49.6; 53.2.

According to 47.2 Mazdāh Ahura is the father of Aša, which expresses as clear a causal as an intimate relation between the two. In the very next verse, Mazdāh is the father (Bartholomae, Punegar: furtherer) of the Spirit who created the kine. Occasionally the grammatical construction by itself brings out the unique position of Mazdāh Ahura, as compared with the other Ahuras. Thus, to mention only one example, in 50.1, Mazdāh Ahura is singled out from Aša and Vahišta Manah, in whose company He appears, by the vocative case, the others being in the ablative. Three verses later, praise and adoration are given to Mazdāh Ahura together with Aša, Vahišta Manah and Xšathra, but here again Mazdāh Ahura is singled out from the rest by the direct address in the vocative. The exalted position of Mazdāh is hinted at in 50.11, where Mazdāh Ahura and Aša are immediately, though not together, addressed, Vohu Manah being left outside. Perhaps this passage too consistently makes Mazdāh Ahura occupy a position superior to all, even Aša. 51.15 asserts that Mazdāh Ahura obtained as the first the reward of the Magavan in the House of Praise, Garodemana, which is as much as to say it is owned by him. To please Mazdāh, to praise and worship Him is the α and ω of the religion whose prophet is Zarathuštra, and whose founder is Ahura Mazdāh Himself: this is stated in 53.2.

After such definite statements there was not much danger in addressing prayers to Mazdāh Ahura and Aša, 50.8; or in saying that moral works and physical phenomena are in honour of the same two, or when in the marriage sermon in 53.3, Zarathuštra exhorted his youngest daughter in the popular strain. There can indeed be little doubt that Mazdāh Ahura is in the physical and metaphysical, as well as in the religious and the moral order, the Independent and therefore Highest Principle. Not one, not even the highest and most perfect Ahura, Aša, who is oftenest mentioned together with Mazdāh Ahura, whose councillor and right hand he is in executing orders, does by nature or function equal Mazdāh Ahura. It is therefore not correct to say that Zoroastrianism is philosophically dualistic, theologically monotheistic.

The Gāthās do not seem to go beyond statements about the Unicity and Independence of Mazdāh Ahura. Other attributes of the nature of God, the First Principle, are not explicitly stated. From unicity and independence, however, other attributes may be inferred, and it has to be admitted that the Gāthās do not contain any pronouncement which would go against these conclusions. Thus the Gāthās yield a negative argument that the idea of God, as conceived by Zarathuštra, was not excluding divine attributes which a more subtle theology would demand and develop. Zarathuštra's silence on these deeper speculative points is explicable: he had to teach first the elements of a reform to an audience, neither always very fit nor willing to hear a message, which meant for them that they often enough had to burn what they had adored so far, and to adore what they had burnt hitherto. Moreover, the Gāthās, even if we had them in a textually much more perfect condition, are fragments, and no more, of Zarathuštra's preaching. The text, as it stands, presupposes a fuller explanation of

certain points, evidently given before. Still, not a single one of the attributes of God's nature cannot easily be deduced from the facts actually given by the Gāthās.

The self-existence, to start with, follows directly from the independence. It is however remarkable that Zoroaster did not bring out this attribute directly. For स्वभावत्, which in the original etymological meaning is self-existent, is a fairly common epithet of more than one Vedic deity. It is not unlikely that the idea of स्वभावत्, self-existence, was already a property of the Indo-Iranian period. If so, there is good reason to assume that it was contained in pre-Zoroastrian Iranian belief, just before the reform. But this may have been the very reason why Zarathustra studiously avoided to mention it expressly. Infinity does not seem to be mentioned directly or indirectly. This may be explained on the ground that the Zoroastrian idea of the divinity is much more moral and ethical than physical or metaphysical, because according to his individual purquestions of final right and wrong, good and bad were foremost in his mind. It was then as practical as it was logical on the reformer's part to invest Mazdāh Ahura with right and goodness in a supreme degree. Yet Zoroaster's idea of God takes note of infinity as well: nothing prevents us from taking Haurvatāt as Divine Entirety, which is the positive equivalent for the negative Infinity. This of course supposes that the Ahuras are taken as personified divine attributes.

From Haurvatat there is but a short step to Omnipresence. This attribute was tacitly given to Mazdāh Ahura, to judge from the Omniscience and his all-comprehensive Rule, which not even the worst follower of Druj can escape or shake off in the end. On a better grounding than Infinity rests the Eternity of Mazdāh Ahura. It is definitely stated that he gives life in eternal bliss, 53.1. Not only

present and future are embraced by Mazdāh's eternity, but the past as well. His eternity is therefore absolute, without beginning and end. Because he knows everything that is, will be, and was, His existence is presupposed by His knowledge, as nobody else could have taught Mazdāh Ahura. The second life, the reward, is unchangeable, and this suggests that Mazdāh Ahura, the author of that life, is immutable Himself.

The enquiry so far has led to a monotheism taught by the Gāthās. Even those who saw Dualism in Zoroaster's system have never accused it of being monistic, denying either the existence of God, or identifying God and the World. God is one according to the Gāthās, and the World with all it contains is His creation and realm. The next question is whether Zoroastrian monotheism is personal or impersonal.

III. PERSON OR POWER.

Person, as we take it, is a complete, individual, reasonable Being, either wholly immaterial—spiritual, or composed and consisting of body and soul, but in any case being endowed with intellect and will, self-conscious. Nowhere, it seems, do the Gāthās attribute a body or merely material actions to Mazdāh Ahura, though they nowhere state in plain words that He is a pure spirit either. True enough, Mazdāh Ahura acts in human fashion, sees, disposes, rewards, and punishes, but this is only an adaptation to the hearer, such as every religious document, even those professing a Pure Spirit as the Highest Principle, have to resort to. The mode of expression is taken from human actions, which are of course both material and immaterial. The Gathic data about this point are so scanty that it is much easier to say and prove what Mazdāh Ahura is not, than what he is. He is certainly not a pure body, as passages like "Teach me through thy Spirit" flatly contradict such

an assumption. Again such passages as 34.2, 45.10, according to which worship is offered or due to Mazdāh Ahura, or 34.3, which enjoins sacrifice to be offered up to Him, do of course not impair the spiritual nature of Mazdāh Ahura, but implicitly they assert his personality without ambiguity.

From the Unicity and Sovereignty, shown above, follow the Individuality and Self-containedness or Completeness as a person of Ahura Mazdāh. Intellect in its various aspects and functions as well as will and power are so clearly attributed by the Gāthās to Mazdāh Ahura that his nature as a rational Being is beyond doubt. Right at the beginning, Yasna 28.5 speaks of obedience to his Omniscience (Punegar), and Zarathuštra is convinced that he is heard through Mazdāh Ahura's Omniscience, 28.7. He, Mazdāh, is the "discerner" between the deeds of men and demons, past and present, according to 29.4, which implies that he reads the heart and penetrates from outer works into inner motives. For this reason both the soul of the Primeval Bull and that of the Pregnant Cow (Punegar: the propelled universe), beseech Mazdāh Ahura that woe may not betide the pious agriculturist from the followers of Druj, 29.5. Because Mazdāh Ahura knows through introspection, his knowledge is wider than that of Aša, 29.6. The object of Mazdāh's knowledge is limited neither by the intrinsic nature of the thing to be known, nor by external circumstances, such as time, as he knows what is to be and what not, 31.5. The knowledge of unknown and future things is attributed to Mazdāh Ahura in 31.16, too. It is fit and proper that such a comprehensive mind should plan the spaces, *i.e.*, conceive in his mind the creation of the universe, 31.7. Not only is Mazdāh Ahura's knowledge all-comprehending extensively and intensively: wisdom outside Him leads back to Him as the

source, and hence we have "the spirit of Geuś Tašan was thy wisdom," 31.9.

Mazdāh Ahura observes with a glittering eye the fates meted out to evil-doers, as they are deserved by them, and perceives it all through Aša, 31.13. One should rather expect Vohu Manah in the place of Aša here. It appears all quite natural, however, when Aša's character as Truth and Councillor of Mazdāh is taken into consideration. In 32.6 Ahura Mazdāh is said to know everybody's merit and to remember it through Vahišta Manah. In the verse immediately following, it is simply stated that Mazdāh Ahura knows the end of wicked deeds, the pouring out of the glowing metal. "Thy spirit is to be brought about by Vahišta Manah" is Zarathuštra's earnest prayer in 33.9.

Mazdāh Ahura's intellectual power is so prominent that he is held up as the archetype of those who know: 43.3 speaks of him as "knowing and holy like Thee, O Mazdāh"; 45.3 gives him simply as "the knowing Mazdāh", and according to 48.2 Ahura Mazdāh is the knowing one *par excellence*, knowing as He does the future. Owing to his knowledge, Mazdāh may well be considered as "the teacher of good-mindedness", 31.17. He teaches through Aša the possession of the Good Spirit. From him agriculture is to be learnt, *i.e.*, he is the real author of, and the authority for, the economical reform which goes hand in hand with the religious renovation preached by Zarathuštra, and is as integral a part of his message as the dogmatic teaching, 33.6. In fine, doctrine, good action, as well as its sanction come from Mazdāh Ahura, 34.15. Through his wisdom Mazdāh Ahura taught Zarathuštra the best, 45.6. In 48.3 it is asserted that the well-meaning Ahura teaches through Aša the best doctrine. And towards the end of the Gathic discourses it is stated categorically that Mazdāh Ahura is the first teacher, 51.3.

It is then no presumption on the part of Mazdāh Ahura when in 43.10 He offers to answer any question which Zarathuštra might care to put. The offer is not made lightly, for Zarathuštra's question is like the question of the mighty ones. The questionnaire put before Mazdāh is contained in 44.1-19, each verse starting with the formula:—"That I ask thee". The queries, which in most cases are merely rhetorical questions as they imply the answer, are not too logically arranged, but they cover a wide field or points of importance and interest, general and individual, spiritual and material, this life and the next, cosmology, cult, but especially the fate of the reform and events at the final reckoning. The first question, in 1, is about prayer, how it should be addressed to "one like Thee, Mazdāh Ahura". This is a remarkable passage, which puts prayer foremost among all the interests that moved Zarathuštra's heart, and brings out Mazdāh Ahura's nature as an intellectual and personal Being, prayer not being addressed to anyone else. The second question jumps over work and struggle in this life and is concerned with the reward in "the best existence". This is a clever psychological and pedagogical device to console and strengthen himself and his followers in the trials of this life.

Mazdāh Ahura being the creator and ruler of the world, he is fitly asked by Zarathuštra about the creation and the order of the macrocosm, 3, the kingdoms and powers of nature in particular, 4. He asks further about the author of alternating night and day, the basis for the division between work and rest, about the maker of morning, noon and night, which remind men of his duties, 44.5. Mazdāh Ahura is aptly credited with the wise connection between brute nature and intellectual man, so that the former may be a fit dwelling place for the latter.

and an occasion for fulfilling his higher and lower duties. Only to those who are ignorant of the mentality of even the greatest of mortals, and are not aware of the ups and downs of those who have achieved the greatest deeds, often enough in spite of themselves, so to say, the next question may sound like a surprise. Zarathuštra enquires about the truth of his own teaching and the sanction put upon it by Ahura Mazdāh. If the question was put in a moment of depression it serves in reality as an appeal to Mazdāh Ahura made by the preacher, and comes to a calling in of Mazdāh as a witness for both the truth of his teaching and the fulfilment of reward and punishment. Verse 7 takes up the subject mentioned in 1, and extends the query to the social order, by asking who made the son paying obedience and respect to his father? By putting in verse 8 a question about his (Zoroaster's) own capability, perseverance and reward, Zarathuštra acknowledges Mazdāh as one who searches heart and kidneys, knows not only our future, but even ourselves better than we do. If the next verse forms the topic of a renewed enquiry, it only shows that Zarathuštra was by no means self-confident, that he, like many of those who taught others, did not at all feel sure about themselves. This assurance, so badly needed, could only be given by Mazdāh Ahura, because he alone had knowledge both of the preacher and his work, and his glance alone would be cast into the future.

All the following questions, with the exception of that contained in the last verse of the Gāthās, turn some way or other on the Reform. Mazdāh therefore as the real author of the reform, is credited with a knowledge hidden to every human eye and mind. First (in 10) "Will the new creed not only be accepted, but observed as well?" forms the burden of the next anxious question. In other words, will Zarathuštra's mission be a success or a failure? Consider-

ring the slow process, rarely complete, of work, like that with which Zarathuštra found himself entrusted, such a question is as natural as important. Moreover will those who accept the new teaching be pious? 11. Or will they be as bad or worse than those who were never touched by the reform, and therefore a standing discredit to it? Again a question to be answered only by one who reads the souls and the future, such as Mazdāh Ahura. Some insight into the hearts is necessary also for the spiritual teacher, if he is not to waste the doctrine as well as his energy and time uselessly. For this reason Zarathuštra asks in 12 for discernment between spirits and intentions, a favour which only Mazdāh Ahura can grant, as he alone possesses it of His own. Because of Mazdāh it is said that He will distinguish between the wise and the foolish, 46.17.

Reforms in religious matters will touch material interests, as they take hold of the whole man, body and soul, in his private and public life, duties and rights. Even if Zarathuštra's teaching had been less pronouncedly an economic reform than it actually was, he could not have helped to further and to thwart material interests, just as he could not have avoided altogether political means, such as alliances, to gain his end. In fact, the task put upon Zoroaster's shoulder was a complicated one, and he must have felt the burden the more the less he found the occupation with material problems and matters to his taste. The prayer for following the right procedure in order to get rid of the followers of Druj comes quite natural from Zoroaster's lips. It is only Mazdāh Ahura who can give a competent reply, he alone being able to fathom the wickedness of the fiend and his followers. But even being shown the right way, in which to overcome the arch-enemy, the preacher was by no means certain whether he himself would have the necessary prudence and patience to put the advice

into practice and follow the inspiration of Mazdāh so as to bring about the downfall of Druj and its associates. This being a question as important as impossible to be answered by merely human wisdom, it is put in 44.14 to Mazdāh Ahura, implying that his knowledge is superhuman.

The same anxiety is brought out by the following query: "Will Zarathuštra be drawn into the turmoil when the two hostile powers meet?" One may hear through these words the weariness of the preacher, who would have been happy in meditating on the message, he was convinced he had received from above, and in conveying it to others for their welfare. But the message had to be given in the face of a hostile power, deadly opposed to it and determined to fight it tooth and nail, preventing its acceptance and spread step by step. Hence the anxious question, "Shall Zarathuštra be caught in the maelstrom when the two warring powers and principles will meet to fight out the question whether Truth or Falsehood, Right or Wrong, Virtue or Vice is to prevail, whether the Iranian world is to be a kingdom of Heaven of the Good Spirit or a kingdom of Hell of the Bad Spirit." Again, only Mazdāh Ahura can give the answer. For he alone knows where final victory will lie.

From a merely human point of view the odds were so great that Zarathuštra found himself driven to ask for a potent, victorious Protector and Judge of his own followers, 44.16. See also 46.7. He even ventures to ask for a vision showing him the Arbiter (16). Needless to say, this request can have a meaning only if Mazdāh Ahura possesses full knowledge of things hidden to everybody else, and has the means so to show the supernatural truth as to remove all doubt and anxiety from the mind of Zoroaster. It looks like a refrain when in 17 the simple question is put again: "Shall I succeed or fail?" a repetition betraying the harrassed soul of the teacher. It would be underrating

the motives of Zarathuštra if we were to measure them only by the question immediately put after, concerning the reward here through his own material prosperity, and (hereafter) also through immortality, 18. And it would be nothing but derogatory to the teaching of Zarathuštra and to himself that he had been toiling a lifetime, calling upon God as a witness for his message, stirring the nation to its depths, risking civil war merely for ten steeds, a stallion and a camel, to which immortality is added, as it would seem, only as an after-thought? The meaning of this question, which of course amounts in Zarathuštra's mind to a positive assurance: these things imply a sanction of his doctrine and work, the material prosperity asked for being a witness for the soundness of the economical reform and a token of greater things as a reward in store for the other life. The last verse of the questionnaire is rather loosely connected with the rest, though it shows the same outward form. It concerns the general ethical question of the punishment of him who refuses to pay wages due. Yet it may serve as a proof for the omniscience of Mazdāh Ahura, as nobody else can tell what immediate punishment may be meted out in this life to one guilty of such a sin.

The questions asked in Yasna 44 subject Mazdāh Ahura's knowledge to such a rigorous test that only all-knowingness can stand it. Still the fictitious examination which Mazdāh has to undergo before Zarathuštra concerns only individual objects of knowledge, though certainly recondite and detailed enough. Nowhere is the doctrine of Mazdāh Ahura's omniscience clearly pronounced, it is merely implied. But already in the following Yasna, 45.4, Mazdāh Ahura is credited in so many words with knowing everything, when it is stated that the all-perceiving Ahura is not to be deceived. In 48.3 Mazdāh is addressed as one who knows the secret sayings and truths through the mental

power of Vohu Manah, which comes to this that all super-human knowledge is to be found in Mazdāh Ahura.

In the face of ever new obstacles and amidst unceasing trials Zarathuštra did, even after having had an assurance by a vision, not less lose courage again and again than any other struggling mortal, whose despondency may border on despair, the more he is convinced of the greatness of his task, the keener he feels the responsibility, and the more he sees the small results so far achieved. Hence the iterated inquiry about certain important points concerning his mission, 48.8-9, a care which accompanies Zarathuštra almost right up to the end of his recorded teaching, 51.11. Well knowing that his work is but half, or less than half, done, unless he finds a willing ear with the higher classes, he does not hesitate to ask Mazdāh Ahura whether his teaching will succeed with them, 40.10-11. Similarly in 44.18 he inquires once more whether pastoral and agricultural prosperity in fulfilment of Mazdāh's promises will be enjoyed. It was a source of consolation and renewed energy when he told his hearers, and not less himself, that Mazdāh Ahura has the surest knowledge. And his confidence must have been regained when he thought that Mazdāh in person said to him: "When they who, among all those many that see the sun, live up to Right, are in the scrutiny and manifestation, I shall lead them into the mansion of the prudent, *i.e.*, the faithful and pious ones." Mazdāh Ahura has together with Aša thought out the paths of Vohu Manah (15.16); those paths surely lead to paradise which is reached by the hints and helps of Mazdāh Ahura. Relying on Mazdāh Ahura's all-embracing knowledge, Zarathuštra's conviction in his teaching and his work is confirmed and appears coupled with that hope without which no hard and taxing work, whether big or small, has ever been achieved. The fact that Zarathuštra may have

faltered, but did not fail, is due to his belief in the all-perceiving Ahura, who is not to be deceived, 45.3.

Turning to the enquiry into the will of Ahura Mazdāh the problems of supreme, from outside unrestricted will, of the freedom of will, of antecedent and actual help or providence and assistance in particular cases asked for, meet us. All these attributes of the will are necessary in a supreme divine personality. For all of these, in a more or less pronounced degree, there are data to be found in the Gāthās. Naturally, Mazdāh Ahura's will being the absolute rule for goodness and virtue, he is emphatically declared to be holy. Whatever conforms to his will is right and good, whatever goes against it is wrong and bad. This characteristic of holiness is so prominent that it cannot but strike even a superficial reader of the Gāthās.

A comparison with other supreme deities of the Indo-European family clearly marks off Mazdāh Ahura from the rest, whose moral side is far less developed. If the attribute of sanctity is given to them at all, it is found in none of them with such emphasis, purity and consistency, as in the Iranian deity, whose prophet Zoroaster was. In this respect his doctrine approaches the Semitic conception of God, and it is a point in which the hand of the reformer is clearly to be seen.

The fight between good and bad was not only one of principles, to be settled in sermons and disputations, but a concrete strife, in which the warring parties bodily represented the maxims either according to, or against, Mazdāh Ahura's will. Thus the prophet prays in the first Gāthā, 28.4, for assistance to overcome the enmities of the enemy. It need not cause any surprise that just in points of justice and goodness, in general, Aša appears associated with Mazdāh Ahura, though not as his equal, as the text shows again and again, but as the agent and instrument of

Mazdāh. Aša is gained according to the first laws of Ahura, 46.15, and to mention one individual instance, Zoroaster avers that Aša was obtained by Frašaoštra Hvogva through Mazdāh Ahura, 51.17. In the light of these passages statements like the following have to be taken: "Mazdāh is in accord with Aša," in 28.8. But Mazdāh knows best the working of the bad principle in the past and even in the future, He ultimately decides between good and bad, 29.4.

It is Mazdāh's realm, constituted through Vohu Manah, for which Zarathuštra asks. This is nothing else but the rule of goodness and virtue, 31.6, and that realm is even to be exalted by Mazdāh Ahura himself, 31.7. Emphatically it is said in 9: "Thine (Mazdāh's) was Ārmaiti," which may be taken as personified piety and devotion. Only two verses later, it is given that Mazdāh Ahura is the author of religious rites. Concerning the importance attached to external forms of religion as a correct manifestation of the true inner spirit, this statement should not be underrated. Mazdāh Ahura's sanctity penetrates these rites, just as his sanctity claims them. It is a matter of course that the decision between right and wrong can only lie with Ahura and Aša, 32.6; Ahura will separate the pious from the wicked, 8. It must have been a source of embarrassment in more than one way, that heretical teaching and doing went on apparently unchecked, as if there were no Zarathuštra to preach, nor a Mazdāh Ahura to shield him and to further his doctrine. Hence Zoroaster's complaint about heretical teachers in 32.9. Such an appeal to him, who had sent Zarathuštra, in a point that touched himself immediately was obvious; but the appeal to Mazdāh in moral matters in general is quite frequent: it is made in 32.13; 33.3; 34.9; 45.11; 46.4, 5, 8, 18.

Sanctity is not an adventitious quality of Ahura Mazdāh, but an essential attribute. For it is settled that those who commit the most wicked deeds should be called favourites of the Daēvas, who swerve from good thinking, and separate themselves from Mazdāh Ahura's will and from the sacred Right, 33.4. Hence also the intrinsic, unvarying opposition to Druj. Wherever a follower of Druj is found he is a standing reproach to Zarathuštra and a mockery to Mazdāh Ahura, as he is a triumph for Druj. For this reason, every follower of Druj has to make a convert, that from one end to the other of the Iranian fold, there may be acknowledged and practised the new doctrine with its purer concept of God and better life of Man, 33.2. It was of paramount importance to Zarathuštra to be fully equipped with a correct knowledge of Mazdāh Ahura, His will and the form of worship by which to approach Him. Thus in 34.12-13, Zarathuštra appears anxious to hear the law, the praise and prayer of Mazdāh Ahura. Evidently, to Zarathuštra, Mazdāh Ahura was the fountain-head of sanctity, as he understood it. In 43.3 Mazdāh Ahura is said to be holy; in the following verse, Mazdāh is holy in his sanction of the moral law; in 5 and 6 Mazdāh's sanctity is found both in creation and sanction. The simple statement about Mazdāh's sanctity is repeated in 48.3.

Clearly, no attribute of Mazdāh Ahura made such an impression on His prophet as sanctity did. This is shown in Yasna 43, where a series of spiritual experiences is given in which Mazdāh's holiness was realised. It seems, this realisation was more of the nature of a conclusion than of a vision, because they all occurred in consequence of some spiritual intercourse, neither directly concerning Mazdāh's holiness, nor in communion face to face with Ahura Mazdāh, but simply as the logical result of some occasions in Zarathuštra's life. For the first time, Mazdāh's

holiness was recognised on the day of Zoroaster's examination by Vohu Manah, the object of which was to find out who and whose he was, 43.7. The second time, Zarathuštra had a special light on the sanctity of Mazdāh, when he was asked for whom he would decide, 9. Less surprising came this experience during the first instruction, 10, or when Vohu Manah enquired after the object of Zarathuštra's desire, 13. For the last time, as far as the Gathic record goes, the sanctity of Mazdāh impressed itself upon Zarathuštra with the same vividness as before when Tušnāmaiti taught him.

Zarathuštra adduces as a motive for the acceptance of his teaching the sanctity of Mazdāh Ahura, according to which the sanction will be exercised, which is necessary to enforce Mazdāh's will both in favour of the good and in punishment of the evil-doers. In fact, the motive of reward appears rather strongly emphasised in the Gāthās. This is perhaps at the cost of other, higher motives, but probably the strongest motive for Zoroaster's audience, and in any case a motive which the unbending, unalterable will to see good done and bad avoided could not omit. Yasna 31 is remarkably emphatic in bringing home that sanction, beyond which there is no appeal, lies with Mazdāh Ahura: verse 13 has it that sanction comes from Ahura through Aša; verses 14-16 that sanction is enacted by Ahura, similarly 33.13. In 33.11 sanction is imposed by Mazdāh Ahura and other Ahuras. It is the sanction for the virtuous and faithful which is mentioned in 32.1, that speaks of the Joy (Punegar, Bartholomae: Beatitude) of Mazdāh Ahura. By 34.3 an assurance is given that the fruit of the wise is safe with Mazdāh and the Ahuras. Sanction for the good works is mentioned in 51.21, where it is nothing less than the kingdom of Ahura; cp. 53.4. Reward and good teaching are from Mazdāh Ahura, 34.14;

the reward will be meted out through Aša and the Holiest Spirit, Speništa Mainyu, 43.2. Reward is held out in 46.10, and 47.1, where it is specified as prosperity and immortality, cp. 5, 6. At the consummation of things Mazdāh Ahura will see that the good ones do not miss the reward due, as he is to help them, 46.12; for he is an increaser of the kingdom, and Mazdāh's kingdoms contain all rewards, 51.4.

Mazdāh Ahura exercises justice towards the good, the bad, and those who pendulate between both, but are neither wholly, *i.e.*, the undecided ones, 33.1. An elementary rule in spiritual administration is alluded to in 32.8, which makes Mazdāh Ahura separate the pious from the wicked. As a deterrent punishment is threatened to seducers, 32.11. The reward is dependent on the knowledge of Mazdāh Ahura through Aša, 45.8; 51.2 makes the reward simply depend on Mazdāh Ahura, who grants His kingdom to him who fulfils Mazdāh's will, 6, because Mazdāh disposes of fates and rewards through his kingdom, 45.7. By fire, he will distribute the fulfilment of their claims to the two parties, 46.2; since all sanction is through Mazdāh Ahura, and the fire has its strength through Aša, 34.4. The latter clause seems to signify that fire will not burn those who live according to Aša, but will scorch those who despise Mazdāh Ahura's laws and commandments. As in all times, then too, some pious people seemed to have fared badly from a worldly point of view, the wicked ones on the other hand were seen to prosper, hence a sign was necessary for the certainty of the final sanction by fire and molten metal: that sign of confirmation is asked for in 51.9.

A further proof for the personal monotheism of the Gāthās lies in this that they conceive the world, its existence and order as the creation of Mazdāh Ahura, and credit him with the sovereign rule of the universe. This of

course supposes in Mazdāh Omnipotence as the necessary correlate. There is really nothing, not even the highest Ahura or, as will be seen later, even the Principle of Evil, outside the producing and sustaining power of Mazdāh Ahura. Whether 28.7 is rendered so as to attribute royalty (Bartholomae) or Omnipotence (Punegar) to Mazdāh, there is no doubt that the supreme and unlimited power, including that of creation, is ascribed to Mazdāh. The gift of Vohu Manah is from Mazdāh Ahura, 28.8. The destiny of the First Life is put in his hands, 28.11. Mazdāh creates the factors essential for the reform of Zarathuštra on the economical side, soil, the theory, which is implied by "the Word about the Fat", and the practical result, suggested by "the Milk for those who seek Food", 29.7. A fine gradation in Mazdāh Ahura's creative power is seen in 31.7, 8, 10. First, it is said, He planned the spaces and created Aša; then it is clearly stated again, as if to emphasise it, that Mazdāh Ahura created Aša, and it is added that He is the father of Vohu Manah. Moreover He is the lord over the actions of life. Finally, it sounds like a clincher, excluding further discussion, when in 31.10 it is averred that Mazdāh Ahura is the creator of the material and immaterial, the animate and inanimate beings.

Individual instances of the exercise and manifestation of Mazdāh Ahura's creative power are mentioned throughout the Gāthās. He creates the First Individualities, 46.6; at the creation of the First Life he made the plants grow, 48.6. How well Zarathuštra had grasped the nature of Man can be seen from his assertion that Mazdāh Ahura is the creator of the mental power, 50.6. The context seems to suggest that even the Ahuras are comprised in this creative production by Mazdāh, a conclusion which is of course confirmed in direct words as regards the very highest Ahuras. Mazdāh is the creator of

humanity, 50.11. A whole string of products of creation not in a very logical order—is given by 51.7, where kine, water, plants, immortality and prosperity, strength, and lasting existence are enumerated. According to 53.9 Mazdāh Ahura has the power to create the right order. It is evident, Mazdāh Ahura is more than a demiourgos; the universe in its existence and maintenance depends on Mazdāh Ahura, who consequently is omnipresent.

The way in which Mazdāh Ahura is said to dispose of His gifts is a further proof of His personal sovereignty. These gifts are of a material and spiritual nature, belonging to this world and the other. Zarathuštra expects lasting support in his work, 28.6, so that he may find a willing ear with his audience, 7. For all the benefits are distributed by Mazdāh Ahura, 33-10, hence the prayer for gifts, 12, as Mazdāh Ahura not only grants everything, but the grace to attain it as well, 34.1. In fact, all the good comes through Mazdāh Ahura, 34.11. Even a definite grace may be asked for as in 49.8, where a certain reward is expected from Mazdāh Ahura. It illustrates well both the relation between Mazdāh Ahura and Aša and the fact that the former is the source of every gift hoped and asked for, when towards the end of the Gāthic teaching, Aša again is supposed to be obtained through Mazdāh Ahura, 51.17. Not only does Mazdāh possess all the good to make Zarathuštra's followers happy and requite them with an adequate reward, He is quite free in the distribution of his boons so that no other power can interfere with His disposition and execution.

There is no fate either behind Mazdāh Ahura, the giver, or behind his devotee, nor a determination through other people's merits or demerits, which could prevent the free action of Mazdāh Ahura in dealing with man, and bestowing his graces on whomsoever he chooses. It is there-

fore a merely rhetorical question when in 34.5 it is asked: "Have Mazdāh Ahura and the Ahuras, Aša and Vohu Manah, the power to protect your poor one who has renounced all other help from men or daēvas? For the answer is given immediately in 6, that they have indeed the power. As He is the most powerful (Bartholomae, Punegar: beneficent) Mazdāh Ahura, He has power over the actions of life, 31.8, and he has power over any one threatening ruin to Zarathuštra, 32.16. Zarathuštra wants to know Mazdāh Ahura as a strong one (in his sanction), 43.4 Nobody can force Mazdāh Ahura and Aša to fulfil a wish, 43.13, any more than not to fulfil it, since His, Mazdāh's, is a sovereign power, 14. It will be a small thing for Mazdāh Ahura's power to introduce agriculture, 45.9. Nobody who has followed his law need fear, for Mazdāh Ahura is most powerful to procure the reward due, 46.19, as the end is in His hands, 46.3, and He is powerful enough to put down any one who threatens Zarathuštra ruin, 32.16. Thus Zarathuštra invokes Aša and Mazdāh to come with Ādā to the rescue against Bandvā, who always has proved to be the greatest obstacle, 49.1. With confidence Zarathuštra will raise his hands in time of need and distress to Mazdāh Ahura and Aša, in set speech and in free inspired appeal as the heart suggests, 50.8, because the souls of the Aša followers, their faith and other virtues are committed to the care of the very mighty Ahura, 49. 10.

These are the data which the Gāthās contain about the power of Mazdāh Ahura. The idea of creation by Him is expressed with such a remarkable definiteness that creation alone would be a sufficient reason to look upon Ahura Mazdāh as the sole and supreme lord of the universe, the first and final principle to which everything that exists is pointing. The order observed in the universe furnishes ample evidence from nature to form the argument from

Design, which leads a thinking, unbiassed mind from Nature to Nature's God, who according to the very argument from Design must be one. The power of Mazdāh Ahura is no less sovereign in giving graces of a moral and spiritual character, which He distributes according to His will. Finally, the supreme, unhindered, and never ending power directly attributed to Mazdāh Ahura leaves no doubt that Zarathuštra vested Mazdāh Ahura with the attribute of Omnipotence which fits only the One God.

The description of Mazdāh Ahura in the Gāthās gives such attributes both of his nature and action as can only be looked for in one God. The text of the Gāthās therefore contains the proof that Zarathuštra's reform was monotheistic. How could then the wide-spread opinion arise that Zoroastrianism is Dualism? To arrive at a solution of this question it will be necessary, in the first place, to define Dualism. Dualism in the older sense of the term is a philosophical and theological system which assumes two equal but contrary principles as supreme. Both the Principles, whose opposition may be moral or physical, must in Dualism be clad with all the attributes of the highest Principle. This is of course a logical impossibility which we cannot believe to have been overlooked by Zarathuštra. The Gāthā text, as will be shown below, does not warrant the assumption of two absolutely equal Principles, one good and the other bad. From this it follows that it is historically wrong to call Zoroastrianism Dualism, at any rate as far as it is based on the Gāthās.

The nature of Zarathuštra's doctrine about God was well put by Dr. West when he said: "If it be necessary for a dualism that the evil spirit be omnipresent, omniscient, almighty, or eternal, then is the Parsee religion no dualism". To the same effect is Dr. Haug's statement: "A separate evil spirit of equal power with Ahura Mazda, and always oppo-

sed to him, is entirely foreign to Zarathuŝtra's theology." But the following statement of the same scholar is really unacceptable:—"The opinion so generally entertained now that Zarathuŝtra was preaching a Dualism, that is to say, the idea of two original independent spirits, one good and the other bad, utterly distinct from each other—is owing to a confusion of his philosophy with his theology." If this means that Zoroaster's philosophy does teach dualism and his theology does not, then Zarathuŝtra would have to be vindicated from such an inconsistency. For one and the same system of thought cannot logically at one stage propound one view and at another quite a contrary or contradictory view. But if the writer intended to say that the one Supreme Principle is the origin of two Lower or Secondary Principles, opposite in nature and action, the one good and other bad, then Haug's view is to be accepted. But that does not involve an opposition and contradiction between Zoroaster's philosophy and theology, provided they are correctly conceived. Zoroaster's doctrine either is dualistic or is not: a different aspect on the part of the enquirer cannot carry a contradiction into the object itself.

The sources as well as *a priori* evidence are against the assumption of Dualism in Mazdayasnism whether we take it as a system of philosophy or of theology. Mazdāh Ahura is the One Supreme Principle both from a philosophical and theological view; and the antagonism between good and bad is a problem that concerns both philosophy and theology. In fact the whole vexed question whether Zoroastrianism is Monotheism or Dualism is nothing but the question in which way Zarathuŝtra had explained the presence of Evil, its action and apparent success in the struggle with Good, a problem as undeniable as unpleasant. For there was the alternative between the assumption of an independent Evil First Principle, the same in all as the

equally independent First Good Principle, except its antagonism to the latter, and the assumption of the creation of the Principle of Evil by Mazdāh Ahura or its emanation from him. The latter alternative would safeguard Mazdāh Ahura's sovereignty and absolute independence, but would make Him indirectly responsible for the evil in the world, which seems to go against His sanctity. Yet Zarathuštra decided for this latter alternative, to avoid evidently every suspicion and shade of polytheism.

It is one of the vagaries of the history of learning that Zarathuštra's reform, whose *raison d'être* was the supersession of a degraded polytheism, should for millenniums have been taken as the type of dualism, being in reality the purest, if not the only, form of monotheism in the whole Indo-European family. Besides blind Fate, the *ἀνάγκη* of the Greeks, condemning one to sin and misery, raising the other to virtue and happiness, or Karma, the inexorable law of retribution along an awful series of rebirths, which is the Indian tenet, there was only one other solution of the problem of Evil. That lay on the side of Man, who of his own free will apostatized from Good. Zarathuštra did not hit upon that solution, though it is clearly stated in 47.4 and 49.2, that Druj, Untruth, and Wickedness are due to apostacy from the Holy Spirit or from Aša. Whether Man seemed too small in the eyes of the prophet of Mazdāh Ahura to be made responsible for such a universal, time and space embracing calamity as Evil is, or whether it was the difficulty to find for each atonement and suffering the real culprit, as the wicked under Zarathuštra's eyes prospered and the virtuous suffered, cp. 30.10; 50.3; or whether the psychological factor in man had not sufficiently impressed Zoroaster: he did not look for the solution of the problem of Evil with Man.

A minute inquiry into the way in which Zarathuštra

solved the problem of Evil will furnish the negative proof already arrived at by positive proofs that Mazdāh Ahura is the One and Supreme God taught in the Gāthās. If Mazdāh is the One and Supreme Principle then there is no room for another, and the very words of Zarathuštra as recorded in the Gāthās show that the Principle, being caused by Mazdāh Ahura, does not aspire to a rank equal to His.

To gain a complete and correct insight into the idea of Evil conceived by Zarathuštra, for fixing its relative position in the doctrinal system, again every bit of evidence has to be culled from the Gathic text. The Existence and Origin, the Activity and the Final Fate of the Principle of Evil has to be examined. If the Gāthās had always and consistently been looked upon as the original and authoritative exposition and record of Zarathuštra's teaching, the question whether his system is monotheistic or dualistic probably never would have arisen. A careful reading will show that the opposition is not so much between Mazdāh Ahura and Ahriman, Aŋra Mainyu, as between the latter and Vohu Manah and Aša on the other side, Mazdāh Ahura being above them all. In an indirect manner the Evil Principle is confronted with Mazdāh Ahura in 44.12, where it is said that the associate of Druj, an enemy, is opposed to the interest and gain of Mazdāh Ahura. Moreover Aŋra Mainyu in the Gāthās is no more a concrete figure than Aša or Vohu Manah, perhaps less; the concrete opponent of Aša (and Vohu Manah) being Druj. The latter indeed appears as the central of Evil, the organiser of resistance against Zarathuštra and his teaching, who stands for Aša. The followers and associates of Druj, notably the Daēvas, are one camp, as it were, whereas the followers of Aša, so far represented mainly by Zarathuštra and his disciples, are the other. Humanity is thus divided bet-

ween Aša and Druj. The opposition between the two is essential, one cannot become a convert to the other. The hostility is active, so that an incessant and bitter struggle is waged between the two, till Druj with its following succumbs. Of course it is the Aūra Mainyu that lives and acts in Druj, whilst Aša, on the other side, is associated intimately with Vohu Manah.

The existence of an Evil Principle is put beyond doubt by the Gāthās. It should not surprise one that the Evil consists in opposition to Zarathuštra's doctrine, to the faith in Mazdāh Ahura, His sovereignty, wisdom, power, justice, on the theological side, and to the introduction of agriculture and the rearing of cattle from the economical point of view. Thus the Wrong, more especially the Lie and Untruth are represented by, and all but personified in, Druj. Druj indeed is established and resides in heresy to cause ruin. Thus the Soul of Kine complains, 29.1: "Madness oppresses me, and cruelty and ill-treatment and brutality." Yasna 48.7 says that madness and cruelty against Kine, as signs of the Evil Principle, are to be stopped. But Evil seems to have been so widespread that Aša had but the reply: "Men have no notion how just ones treat small and lowly ones," 29.3. A similar strain of despondency is shown in 46.1, remarking that the mighty ones of the country follow Druj. Hence the entreating request: "Hear with your ears the best news, see it with the clear eye of your mind, for the decision between the two beliefs, man for man, each one for himself, looking to the final work (reckoning) beforehand, that it may be accomplished in our favour", 30.2.

The two primeval Spirits, the good and the bad one, revealed themselves in a vision as Twins: they actually are the Better and the Worse in thought, word and deed, 30.3. These two spirits must be held responsible for it

that since the time of creation a knowing as well as an ignorant one lift up their voices and proclaim true and false doctrines, either of them according to his own mind, 31.12. For 45.2 has it: "I (Zarathuštra) shall speak of the two spirits at the beginning of life, of whom the holier spoke thus to the wicked one: 'Neither our thoughts, nor doctrines, nor intentions, nor convictions, nor words, nor works, nor individualities, nor souls, do agree'." And 46.6: "Aša and Druj and their followers were opposed to each other since the creation of the First Individualities." The Daēvas and Grēhma, who is notorious by his many misdeeds, 32.6, have their origin in the Bad Mind, in Untruth and Pride, and so have their infamous deeds, 32.3. Bad Mind is the seducer of the Daēvas, Grēhma is the seducer of the followers of Druj, to ruin them, 32.5. Those that commit the most wicked deeds separate themselves from the Good Thinking, from the Will of Ahura and from the sacred Right; hence they are called favourites of the Daēvas, 32.4. The Daēvas themselves were bad rulers, 44.20. Besides Grēhma, Karpan, Kavay and their dependents adhere to the Evil Principle.

By their teaching the adherents of the Evil Principle turn away men from the best doing; they ruin the life of the kine amongst howls of joy; they are the ruin of this life; their thoughts and powers are directed towards the suppression of Aša; they assist the followers of Druj; their watchword is 'The Cow is to be killed and the old rites are to be restored,' 32.12-15. By their rule Karpan and Kavay get men used to wicked deeds, to destroy the second life, 46.11. A real thorn in the flesh of Zarathuštra was Bendva against whom—the only time in the Gāthās—Ādā is invoked together with Vohu Manah. It seems that Grēhma was a heretical teacher in the service of Bendva; of such a one says Yasna 49.2 that he, the associate of

Druj, an apostate from Aša, has for ever so long been in the way of Zarathuštra. Less surprising than characteristic it comes when in 32.8, Yima, the son of Vivahvant, one of the most venerable figures of the R̥gveda, is ranked as a criminal in the Gāthās, because he gave ours meat to eat. This passage brings out both sides of Zoroaster's reform and at the same time shows, to an uncommon degree, how radically the new teaching had broken with the religious views of Indo-Iranian times and the economical system of the pre-Zoroastrian period.

The negative side of the Principle of Evil is shown in the statement that the following of Druj is due to apostacy from the Holy Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, 47.4, or according to 49.2 from Aša. Is this meant as a concrete illustration of the abstract philosophical truth that Evil is nothing positive, but only the want of the right order in the moral sphere of thought, word and deed, as well as in the physical world? Yasna 47.5 shows that the follower of Druj is allied to Aka Manah, the Bad (or Worst) Mind. But Mazdāh Ahura's fire (and Spenta Mainyu) will protect Zarathuštra against the associates of Druj and their onslaughts.

From these passages it becomes clear that all the persons opposed to Zarathuštra, whether human and historical or mythological, were animated by the Evil Spirit, created by Mazdāh Ahura in the beginning. Whatever wicked deeds are perpetrated, they are due to this Evil Spirit, whose most concrete representative is Druj in opposition to Aša. Druj is the embodiment of all that is antagonistic to Truth and Right, the daevic realm of Lie and its organisation. It has to be admitted that, as far as I can see, the Gāthas nowhere in so many words say that Mazdāh Ahura created the Evil Spirit or Principle. This was due probably to the fact that it appeared to Zarathuštra consonant with the lofty notion he had formed

for himself and taught to others of Ahura Mazdāh to make Him as creator the indirect cause of Evil; it seemed sufficient to leave it to inference, which leads to Mazdāh Ahura as the creator of both the good and the bad Spirit, since he is the creator of all beings.

The programme which the good and the bad Spirit had set themselves is given in 30.4. When these two Spirits met they settled first Life and Not-life, *i.e.*, destruction, and then that at the end of things the associate of Druj should be awarded the worst existence, but the follower of Aša the best dwelling place. Thus puts Zarathuštra the world's history, both physical and moral, and gives its interpretation as a struggle between the two primeval Spirits, a struggle which in spite of its riddles of justice and apparent injustice, will end in the victory of Good and the downfall and condemnation of Bad. All that is said in the Gāthās about the Evil Spirit and its associates, be they Druj or the Daēvas with Aəšma at their head, whether prominent in the defence and practice of the principle of Evil as Bəndva, or merely following the crowd, whether they become guilty of hostility to Zoroaster's economical proposals or his moral teaching: all this is merely a variation of the grand theme proposed in 30.4. Thus 28.5 speaks of the robbing rabble to be converted by the promise held out to the good life. Plans to fight good principles as well as persons were hatched and carried out by Daēvas and (wicked) men in past and future, 29.5.

The followers of Druj are blood-thirsty, 48.11, which seems to indicate that the antagonism did not stop at words, but was, at least at times, one of life and death, for which, in addition, the Gathic text in 53.8 gives unmistakable evidence. Nothing less than ruin was threatening the agriculturist and friend of the cattle from the followers of Druj, 29.5, because they themselves have chosen the deeds of the most wicked, 30.5, and as the very presence of Zoroaster was a

reproach to them. The Daēvas naturally enough have ranked themselves among the associates of Druj by adopting wicked principles and by choosing bad deeds. As delusion got hold of them whilst they were deliberating, they join Aesma through whom they make people ill, 30.6. They rob men of the good life and immortality, 32.5. The greater the zeal and activity of the new teacher was, the more did the adherents of the old faith and order feel provoked and inclined to retaliate, since Zarathuštra's words are unpleasant to the followers of Druj, who ruin as best they can the cause of Aša, 31.1. The followers of Druj are evil-minded towards all that are, 51.10; no wonder then that they ill treat the convert to the new belief, 46.5. The viciousness of Druj is shown by this that its follower, the heretic, will destroy the second life, 45.1. The evil, of which Karpan and Kavay are guilty, is spreading and becomes habitual, for by their rule they accustom men to wicked deeds to destroy the second life for themselves and others, 46.11.

The details of the activities of the Evil Principle show what points were the objects of dispute, characterising thus both the tenets; they too prove how relentless a fight to tooth and nail was going on under the eyes of Zarathuštra. The heretic, says Yasna 32, thwarts the (holy) words and he foils the plan of life with his doctrines. He takes away the possession of the Good Mind, 9. He is thwarting the (holy) words, who speaks of the kine and the sun as the most evil of whatever may be beheld with eyes, who turns the prudent ones into associates of Druj, who devastates the pastures and lifts up the weapon against the followers of Aša, 10. It is the followers of Druj who destroy life, who are bent upon cheating the husbands and wives out of the acquisition of the inheritance by enticing the followers of Aša away from the Good Mind, 11. By their doctrines they turn away men from the best deeds,

they destroy the life of the kine amidst shouts of joy, they prefer to Aša, Grahma and his followers, Karpan and the rule of those who favour Druj, 12. "They are the ruin of this life," is an often repeated allegation.

Grahma and the Kavays direct their mind and energies towards the oppression of Zarathuštra to prevent the new doctrine of the protection of the kine and restore the old religion, in which Soma played an important part, 14. The followers of Druj behave brutally against those who were dear and near to Zarathuštra, 16. The associates of Druj cannot stand it that the furtherers of Aša make the kine prosper in district and country, the Druj being one of ill reputation and obnoxious through his deeds. There was indeed not only personal danger threatening to Zarathuštra, his house and home were exposed to being robbed and perhaps destroyed and the inmates brutally treated, for Zarathuštra prays in 46.8 that no harm might come to him from such violence, and that all the violent deeds planned might recoil on their author to harden him in his wickedness. Impatiently, as it seems, Zarathuštra asks Mazdāh "when will you hit the abomination of the intoxicating drink, by which the Karpans maliciously and the bad rulers intentionally cheat?" 48.10.

Zarathuštra's sermon assumes the form of an excommunication and curse in 49.4: "Away into the house of the Daēvas, away into the house of the followers of Druj, with those who by their tongues increase madness and cruelty, the enemies of cattle-rearing among their friends, in whom not the good deeds but the wicked ones preponderate. The inhuman behaviour of Bəndva (?) has to be laid to the charge of the Evil Principle. Yasna 51.12 relates of Kavay that at Winter's Door he did not try to help Zarathuštra. Spitāmā, refusing shelter, first to him and then also to his draft animals when they arrived at his place, though

the beasts were shivering with cold. The Karpans are no more willing to submit to the rules and regulations of agriculture than Kavay and his people either. They even inflict harm on the kine, 14. Making the necessary allowance for rhetorical exaggeration in the Gathic sermons, and discounting a certain bias which possibly made the zealous an impassionate reformer overlook good traits in his opponents: what remains fully justifies the view that not only from a theological and economical point, Zoroaster's reform meant an improvement, but in a humanitarian and social respect as well.

It was but natural that Zarathuštra considered himself the doctrinal antagonist to the representatives of the Principle of Evil in whatever form it might show itself, and that he acted as the defender of the new faith, ordained and constituted as he deemed himself to be by Mazdāh Ahura. Zarathuštra's opposition was by no means a doctrinal one only, however, as he acted on the principle of tooth for tooth, even life for life. When the time of grace has passed, the opponents will clamour in vain for the new teaching: when Grehma and the destroyers of this life have brought themselves into the plight which they amply deserve, Zarathuštra will prevent them to see Aša, 32.13. The (leading) followers of Druj are to be injured in thought, word and deed; they that only move with the crowd are to be converted, 33.2. As soon as Zarathuštra is assured of Mazdāh Ahura's support, he will rise to attack the blasphemers of Mazdāh's doctrine, he with all those who are mindful of Mazdāh Ahura's words, 43.14. The holy Daēna of the helper, the ruling lord, will be a friend, brother or father only to him, who despises the Daēvas as well as those who condemn the Judge, all the others, except him who is devoted to the Judge, 45.11. This is another way of saying that the unbeliever and opponent of Zarathuštra will be outside the fold in the first and second life. He who deprives the

objectionable associate of Druj of his rule or even of his life, shall progressing prepare the paths of the right doctrine, 46.5, again an indirect order addressed to Vistāspa to attack an unbelieving prince.

No matter what political or social position one may occupy, he is roused and pressed into opposition to the followers of Druj; the big and the small alike are recruited against Druj and its associates, 47.4. Man is either for Mazdah Ahura or against him; in the attitude towards him and the Evil One no neutrality is possible, as those who fulfil their duty by observing Mazdāh's command are the "created", *i.e.* destined oppressors of Aesma, 48.12. To what extremes Zarathuštra saw himself brought, the very last two verses of the Gāthās have recorded. There the stern voice of retributive justice is heard, meting out the full measure of requital to the opponent, calling upon the temporal power of good rulers of this world as well as upon the omnipotence of the Greatest and Highest to inflict the deserved penalty. "They whose doings are evil shall be cheated ones, and given over to ruin they shall cry out. Through good rulers he shall bring about murder and bloodshed among them, and thus give peace and safety from them to the happy villages. Torments shall bring upon them He who is the Greatest together with the fetter of death." 53.8. It seems that either the patience of Zarathuštra had reached its end or the danger had risen to a climax, and it was a question of either the Good or the Bad Mind, either Zarathuštra or Bəndva, either Aša or Druj, for the prophet adds:—"And let it be soon!" Less confident of a quick decision, but not less confident sounds the question in 9: "Where is the Lord of Judgment guarding Right, who is to deprive of life and liberty those, who are out to disparage the worthy ones, the despisers of the holy Right, who have forfeited their body?"

For deciding whether the reform of Zarathuštra really was Dualism, at least at the beginning and at that stage of the doctrine at which we must assume that it was preached by the reformer, the question of the final end of the Evil Principle is of the greatest importance. It may be that Ahura Mazdāh according to the new doctrine even created the Evil Mind, which is the solution of the problem of Evil actually chosen by Zarathuštra. It would have been going against the evidence of every day in private life and of whole periods in history, if he had denied the bitter struggle between good and bad so constantly and universally waged and fought with such varied weapons that only a principle approaching a concrete personality could be made responsible for the endless strife. The odds were at times so great and in favour of Evil that even a stout heart like that of Zarathuštra began to sink, and it was but natural that subsequent ages attributed a nature and powers to the Principle of Evil almost equal to that of Ahura Mazdāh.

If only the evidence from the Gāthās had been consulted the view of real dualism in Zoroaster's reform could never have arisen. Because, in addition to the fact that the Evil Spirit owes his existence to Mazdāh Ahura, who is his creator, he will at the end and for good be doomed and condemned without appeal or a chance to continue life and mischief in some other form of existence. He does not even attempt a revolt, in his followers he collapses in despair and he will not be granted a respite sufficient for conversion. He and his followers of all ages and ranks, however strongly backed up by political power and social position, are all relegated to a life of unending misery. Such a finale of the battle both in every man's head and heart and on the stage of history could impossibly be foretold, if the Bad Principle were as supreme, independent, omnipotent, eternal both from the beginning and unto the end, as Mazdāh Ahura is stated to be. Nothing in the realm of

Evil is lasting, not even worldly prosperity. It is true that in moments of despondency Zarathuštra often asks: "Shall I succeed or succumb!" and at least once puts the anxious question: "Which of the battling armies will be victorious when they meet?" 44.15. But unless we have to give up Zoroaster's personality, works and words as described by the Gāthās, this question has to be taken as a merely rhetorical one.¹

It is as easy to excuse as to understand the impatience which lurks behind the query whether the victory of the follower of Aša over that of Druj will take place before the final retribution, 48.2. The fact is in no way doubted. It may have been more for the sake of his disciples than his own, when in Yasna 51.9, Zarathuštra demanded a sign, *viz.*, the ruin of the associate of Druj, for the evil end of the wicked. The broad fact that the Gāthās suppose and preach the victory of the Good Spirit and the defeat of the Evil One is beyond doubt. Perhaps no tenet of the whole Mazdayasnian system has been asserted so unmistakingly and repeated so untiringly as the final and absolute victory of Good and the sole unassailed reign of Mazdāh Ahura in the Second Life, *i.e.*, the existence after death. This thought was so fully present to the mind of Zarathuštra and comprised every detail to such an extent that no development of it is discernible in the Gāthās. A very concrete description of the fate of the wicked is given at the beginning of the sermons and at the end, where also the simple threat of the woe finally overtaking the associates of Druj is uttered, 51.8.

1 Careful and methodical criticism proves that Zoroastrianism is Monotheism. An inaccurate use for the name of Mazdāh Ahura for Spenta Mainyu by later commentators of the Avesta has perhaps given to the view to Zoroaster's doctrine being Dualism. See on this Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, *Religious System of the Parsees*. Bombay 1903; an interpretation confirmed orally lately by him.

Perhaps the objection might be raised that, owing to the emphasis of reward held out to the good and the punishment threatened to the wicked, Zarathuŝtra's reform is of a mercenary character and built upon egoistic motives, there being hardly any appeal to altruistic grounds. This would put Zoroastrian ethics on a lower level than those of the Bhagavadgītā, for instance, provided the Niskāmaka Karma, that is, the Disinterested Action, is the, or at least one of the, leading ideas of the episode of the Mahābhārata. But no taint attaches to Zarathuŝtra's teaching on that score. In the first place the statements of the Gāthās are not doctrinal pronouncements uttered leisurely from a chair or carefully developed in lengthy dialogue, but the words of a preacher who to win over his audience had to appeal to motives that lay nearest their hearts. He had not to deal with an interlocutor who intellectually and morally was one of the best of his people, look upon as a national ideal, but with an audience of a very promiscuous nature. In fact it is recorded that just the mighty ones and the upper classes were averse to the new teaching. Beyond his own family circle, Zarathuŝtra had a very thin following, the opponents mentioned on the other hand were neither small in number nor of a lowly station in life, and their attitude was one of active and determined opposition.

Even if Zarathuŝtra had not said so, it would not have been a great slander to assume that mainly material considerations were at the basis of his opponents resistance. The only argument to be used there was the transitory character of the prosperity of associate of Druj and his woeful fate in the other world. With Zarathuŝtra's audience the terrible awakening at the Cinvat Bridge, the testing of one's moral worth by molten metal and the treatment with stinking food was apparently the strongest, if not the only, motive that would go down, not so much out of conviction as out of fear.

It was reserved for later stages to expound the social advantages of the new teaching and to point out the higher intellectual and moral plane on which it stood. The way in which the greatest teacher of Iran proposed his message does not show the inferiority of the religious system taught, but the methodical skill of the exponent. Zarathuštra, like all those who had a lasting influence for the better on their surrounding, was a good pedagogue. In the stress laid on retribution, the reform breathes the spirit of Semitic religious views. Whether the result of contact with original semitic ideas or Zoroaster's own conception prompted by a conscious opposition to pre-reform decadent Indo Iranian ideals, only a new inquiry can decide.

The eschatological ideas of the Gāthās naturally are concerned with the victory of Aša, *i.e.*, of Justice and Truth over Druj and the Bad Mind, Injustice and Untruth, in the final judgment, and the sanction put for ever on the judgment by handing over the Evil Principle and its followers to everlasting torments. Now Druj will be overcome through the increase of the Kingdom of the Ahuras, 31.4. Druj will actually be delivered to Aša, which is to cause ruin and torments and hatred to the Druj followers, 44. 14. At the retributions Aša will conquer Druj, 48.1. The text seems to leave it open whether a formal final encounter will seal the fate of the Good and Bad Spirit, or whether the mere working of the effects of either will decide the downfall of the wicked one and the victory of the good one. The meeting of the two battling armies may be the symbolic expression of moral and immaterial occurrences. Druj and all that it implies will suffer defeat by being declared to be the Fiend of Man, and his Satan, the opponent of Mazdāh Ahura who allowed it to do the Enemy's work among Men to tempt them whether they chose to adhere rather to Druj than to Aša, and to organise a whole world of wickedness set against the kingdom of Mazdāh Ahura.

But at the Judgment, the happiness of the world of Druj will be destroyed for good and ever so that no chance of a revival is left. It is clearly asserted that the follower of Druj will be expropriated of his home which will be given to the follower of the Good principle, 50.3; and whatever prosperity may now be found with the devotee of Druj, he will be divested of it, 53.6, at least at the final reckoning. The Karpanship and the Kavay Clan are doomed to ruin just by those whom they did not allow to govern their lives as they listed; worldly prosperity which prevented them from accepting the reform will thus be taken from them, and their portion will be poverty and helplessness. Merely to rouse interest and fix the intention of the hearers Zarathuštra asks in 31.14: "What will be the settlement of the debts of Druj?" and in the following verse: "What is the punishment for the associates of the follower of Druj and of the violent non-agriculturist?" So much is certain, the follower of Druj will ruin besides himself his whole house, his own kith and kin, he will lose goods and chattels, he will do harm even to the village, nay the curse upon him will spread to the whole district and drag it into his personal ruin and, as much as it depends upon him, he will cause the downfall of the whole country and people, 31.18.

It is one of the worst consequences of having kept stubbornly outside Zarathuštra's fold that the unbeliever is punished with hard-heartedness, for evil deeds will keep the evil-doer from a good life, in other words, make him incapable of turning towards good and practise it, 46.8. It sounds like commonpalee when in 51.8 an end in woe is threatened to the associate of Druj. Out of his sovereignty, without any regard whatsoever to the Evil Spirit and his associates of any rank, Mazdāh Ahura himself will apportion the good fate to the good, and the bad fate to the bad, 43.5. It will be just through the Holy

Spirit that Mazdāh Ahura will distribute the claims of the two parties among them assisted by Aša and Ārmaiti, 47.6. At the behest of Mazdāh Ahura, too, Sraoša and Aši will award loss and hurt to the bad party, 43.12. A superlative, for which Zarathuštra may have had other reasons beside his own bitter experiences, is used in the passage 51.6, in which he assures his hearers that Mazdāh Ahura will award worse than the worst to the disobedient. The threat sounds as if based on a definite promise from Ahura Mazdāh. There will be a final separation between Good and Bad at the end, each destined to meet its reward, 49.9. Or "should indeed against thy will the follower of Druj, who in his doings is one with Aka Manah, have part in all the best which through this Holy Spirit, oh Mazdāh Ahura, thou hast promised to the follower of Aša?" 47.5. No, of a truth not, because the heretic will be far from the mansion of Aša: Aša avoids them as wild animals shun men, 34.8.

There is no trace in all this of an appeal by Aūra Mainyu or any other representative of Evil, or of however so faint a remonstrance: Evil has played the game to an end and is to meet its unavoidable fate in just and severe punishment. No attempt is to be seen anywhere to balk the sovereign power of Mazdāh Ahura in allotting Bliss to the Good and Curse to the Bad.

It cannot be denied that the description of the reward of Good in the Gāthās is rather abstract and jejune, as compared with that of Bad. Besides being with Aša in the realms of Mazdāh Ahura, there is hardly any concrete expression for the happiness awarded to the faithful and virtuous whilst fire and molten metal are introduced, to be taken either literally or as a vivid illustration and symbol for the excruciating, all-penetrating pain-racking body and soul of the damned. The Judgment in the Gāthās is a

private and a public, general one. The private Judgment is indicated by the subjective mental condition of the wicked at their arrival at the Chinvat Bridge to which the good ones can look forward with confidence. It is the condemnation by their own bad conscience alone, which makes the lost sinners tremble when they see the risk in crossing the bridge, that will for all eternity decide between Heaven and Hell. The Karpans and Kavays, followers of Druj, will experience anguish of the soul and of the I at the Chinvat Bridge, 51.13.

Numerous are the passages in the Gāthās which either directly mention or imply the general and final judgment of the Principle of Evil and its adherents. Both the various stages and the unalterable result of this trial are given. The bad gain is known through the glowing metal. Mazdāh Ahura knows best the result and end of wicked deeds, 32.7. Zarathuštra desires that the fire may bring comfort to the faithful one, but torments to the enemy according to the hints of Ahura Mazdāh, 34.4. The reward for both parties will be prepared by Mazdāh Ahura, the Holy Spirit and through Fire, 31.3. "Those who are under bad rule, whose deeds, speech and thought, and whose I are bad, the associates of Druj, the (formerly departed) souls will meet with bad food, they are the proper inmates of the house of Druj." 49.11. Cp. 31.20. To him who cries woe! bad food will be offered; paradise will be lost to the followers of Druj, despising Right. "In this way you destroy the spiritual life", warns Zarathuštra in 53.6.

Bliss will be the share of the faithful there, where the spirit of the followers of Druj will be given over to destruction, though they try and sneak away to hide. "But if you separate from the covenant, woe will be your word at the consummation of things", is the renewed warning in 53.7. "Therefore, they whose doing is bad, let them be

the cheated ones, let them all cry out, given over to perdition", 8. The place of corruption is the misbeliever's, 9. Those who increase madness and cruelty are to go to the Daēvas' house, the house for the associates of Druj, 49.4. Zarathuštra prays in 51.14: "For the harm to the kine which they do, execute on account of their words and deeds, the verdict which is to take them to the house of Druj at the end of things." Yasna 30.11 unflinchingly says almost at the beginning of the Gathic preaching that torments and eternal ruin are the end of the follower of Druj. Solemnly declares the text 45.7: "The torments of the followers of Druj will be everlasting; both bliss and condemnation will be decreed and executed through his realm by Mazdah Ahura, who disposes of loss and gain of all that live, that were and will be.

B. GOD IN THE RĠVEDA

To write a theology of the Rġveda, in the sense as one could write a theology of the Old Testament or even of the Avesta, seems to be a difficult, if not impossible, task. Taking theology to be the science of God, it is this very notion of theology which makes an adequate exposition of it in the Rġveda an arduous undertaking. Even if we accept the term God in its abstract sense, as the First Principle of all Being and Movement, we appear to be left without any clear evidence on many questions about God by the Rksamihitā. Not only has the metaphysical basis for the deity in the RĠV. to be unearthed, but the ideas of the Vedic poets, corresponding to the notion of God as a First Principle, have for the greater part to be arrived at by logical conclusions; direct statements are comparatively rare.

Nor does the difficulty end with the scarcity of metaphysical data. In the main, the RĠV. is the expression through the spoken word of religious ideas. These ideas

occupied the minds of the leading classes of the Aryas both in times of national and personal danger and of peace and leisure. The imagery of the R̥V. was rich and deep enough to serve as a symbol for abstract ideas; the language was as good an instrument for conveying higher thought, as any poet and thinker could wish for; and in spite of the dominant monotony of the hymns of the extant Samhitā, dealing with theological ideas, still the minds of the Uṣas and Varuṇa hymns was fertile and original enough to vest the deity with a garb which would give a fairly concrete idea of the First Principle. But there a cruel disappointment awaits the inquirer into the nature and appearance of God in the R̥V. That the deity should appear as Man of larger proportions seems obvious: the Superman must have been the nearest concrete expression for the ideas about the over-lord, creator and protector of a war-faring race. For centuries, the invading Āryas were exposed to the vicissitudes of a life of exploration of strange lands and the risks of a struggle with autochthonous peoples, perhaps inferior in means of defence, but probably equal, if not superior, in numbers to fight the invaders. That anthropomorphism is not the only way of representing the deity in a concrete form and that theriomorphism is not an altogether rare case in the R̥V. may just be mentioned.

It is idle to look in the R̥V. for one absolutely supreme, personal head of all the beings, celestial and non-celestial, that could be considered as the First Principle of all other Being and Movement. Not a single figure of the mythology of the R̥V. stands within measurable distance from that position. The nature of the physically and metaphysically supreme Principle has been split up and its functions divided. It would now be a comparatively easy task to make all the attributes and functions of the sharers in the division converge back upon one point, if no further develop-

ment had set in after the partition. If only a division of the One into Many had taken place, attributes and functions could simply be added and the sum total would represent the nature and activity of the Supreme and Final Principle. But with a good many figures of the Vedic pantheon, a distressing uncertainty prevails as to their actual and original nature; their relative position is neither clear nor steady, and their functions are often overlapping. To arrive at a comprehensive and, at the same time, homogeneous idea of the deity in the RV., elimination besides addition has to be used. Though it may be desirable to try to give a correct idea of the deity in the RV. by putting the scattered facts together, so as to form some sort at least of theology of the oldest literary document of the Indo-European family of peoples and languages, the task is beset with great difficulties. Needless to say, no ancient or medieval author has attempted it, though it was felt and pointed out rather than solved by such an early writer as Yāska. Even modern standard writers on Vedic religion are generally satisfied with a description of the individual figures of the mythology; a great deal of time, talent and energy has been spent, time on questions of origin and identity without an attempt at reaching the higher unity behind plurality.

The first questions about God in the RV., to be solved, are whether, in spite of the difficulties, a starting point of evolution in the Vedic belief in God is to be found in the Samhitā itself; whether the evolution started from the One of the Many; whether the mythological figures, as the RV. represents them, can be co-ordinated and subordinated into a satisfactory mythological system, so as to represent a consistent idea of God, or whether these figures and their functions, taken together, cannot be considered as the adequate representation of the idea of God with which the

Vedic Āryas are to be credited, and, finally, what the nature and the properties of the highest Being in their mind was.

It may not be superfluous to state here that ethnography and the history of human thought, religious thought in particular, does not prove an invariable start from, the imperfect and lower and a development and rise to the perfect and higher. In fact there are scholars who maintain that the evolution started from the perfect and moved towards the less perfect, that there was at times a drop from the higher to the lower. Whether, in early Vedic, times, the development of the theological notion was from the higher to the lower, from the One to the Many, or *vice versa*, naturally has to be decided on the evidence from the documents. If it is shown that polytheism is not the starting point, but rather refers back to monotheism, then such a conclusion will not be contradicted by the general history of culture and the history of religion in particular.

The *prima facie* impression is that the RV. is polytheistic. Still, on closer examination, it will be found that the Vedic hymns do not contain a consistent polytheism. The deities are not self-contained, many are not fully developed, in some there is a suprising want of proportion. The Vedic pantheon lacks constitution and organisation; rather many figures are paired; there is no supreme head constituted on the strength of its nature and activity. The head may be chosen for a certain occasion or purpose, but no individual god can be shown to have been the sovereign for the whole time of Aryan worship. Exaggerated praises may be addressed to a certain deity, but they are stultified by the same praises being offered to some rival deity. As the description of the figure of many deities is defective, so in given traits it often overlaps. Overlapping in activity is rather common. The relation of the gods towards the physical world is more one of demiourgos than one of creator. Very few figures of

the Vedic pantheon are concerned with the moral law and its observation by man.

Neither individually, nor as a class, the Vedic deities exhaust the idea of the First principle, such as peoples of less culture than the Vedic Āryas are commonly observed to possess. It is then but natural that the poets of the sūktas put the gods under the control of one common and therefore higher principle, or make them at least work in harmony with it. None of the gods is found to be above it. This common and higher principle is Ṛta, Truth. It is nowhere stated in the hymns that Ṛta is the Highest and First Principle of Being and Movement, but as Ṛta is not subordinated to another, it must be considered as such. The gods are the agents behind whom Ṛta stands; Ṛta supplements deficiencies of individual gods and of the whole pantheon; on Ṛta converge all the personalities and their functions. This holds good of the oldest parts of the RV. Saṁhitā as much, if not more, than of the younger parts.

As early as the time when the family books were composed, doubts about the suzerainty, if not existence, of Indra, the temporarily highest god, were expressed. These doubts consolidated into a definite and positive statement in the tenth maṇḍala where as the First Principle of Existence and Evolution (Movement) Sat, The Being, was proclaimed. Both the negation of the Many and the assertion of the One is stated with an unmistakable clearness in the first maṇḍala as well. The monotheistic strain of the RV. Saṁhitā was not overlooked by Sāyaṇa who saw clear indications of monotheism in the sūktas. During the time of the Brāhmaṇas the Yajna, Sacrifice, was endowed with such importance and might that the sacrificial and ritual principle took the place of the old gods who were made to depend on it. The philosophically highest principle was, for the time being, immer-

ged in the sacrificial technique. Philosophical speculations, however, were not extinct, nor can it be said they were tabooed by all who wrote on Vedic matters or practised Vedic rites, since some of the most important Upaniṣads were incorporated in Brahmanical books or tagged on to them.

The predominant theological thought of the Upaniṣads is monotheistic: they propound an unqualified monotheism, either straight off or after some hesitation in the opening chapters. The hesitation may have been due either to wavering between the new thought and the old, or, on account of practical reasons, to a compromising tendency, or finally is an involuntary illustration of the labour it cost the Upaniṣad thinkers, as a class, to arrive at new and, as they certainly thought, more satisfactory solutions of the philosophical and theological problems, which never seem to have been entirely absent from the mind of the ancient Āryas. The fact remains that the Upaniṣads, the lineal heirs of the Rv. Samhitā, contain monotheistic belief expressed in formulas unsurpassed for their accuracy and pithiness. The physical and metaphysical First Principle, apparently split up in the Vedic hymns again appears once more as one and homogeneous in the Upaniṣads. Even the moral Principle has been unified in Karma and its correlative, the Samsāra. Though polytheism had in the Purāṇas exponents not fettered generally by speculation based on facts, still the main, at any rate the most important current of ancient Indian, thought, seems to be monotheistic; the polytheism of the Vedic hymns, caused by special circumstances, appears as a temporary aberration. That aberration however lasted probably from one to two millenniums.

Th judge from the evidence extant, the Vedic Āryas must have conceived God as a rational but bodily Being. This is true, even if we admit that the individual members

of the pantheon were but hypostatised physical powers and phenomena. As long as the godhead could be clothed with a body, this was done according to the function attributed to it. If no particular trait suggested a definite bodily shape, then the description stops short. Instances are Indra and Rta, respectively. In fact, the distinction between spirit and matter, soul and body, does not seem to have struck very forcibly a people, who were absorbed in the struggle for life. But even later hymns, composed probably in greater national leisure, do not bring out so much the difference between material and immaterial as that between concrete and abstract. Of the perfections, which a well developed theology finds in the nature of God, some are bound to be absent in the godhead of the RV., others are distributed among the various members of the Vedic Olympus. The assumption that God must exist by himself and cannot owe his being to any one else is implicitly made in this, that Rta is not made to depend on any other higher or more universal Principle. There is however no positive statement to the effect that Rta, being the One behind the Many, is self-dependent. It is true that the term स्वयम्भूत self-dependent, is freely used in connection with deities, but as it is applied to many gods, it amounts to nothing more than a complimentary, stereotyped attribute. Yet the emphasis with which it is applied to Varuṇa may be of special significance for the relation of Varuṇa to Rta, the First and common principle of Vedic mythology. It would be idle to look for a developed personality with clearly defined traits in the RV; Rta, the only figure in the Saṁhitā, which can be considered as a universal and first cause and governor, is too much of an abstraction to allow room for personality. Needless to say that other properties of a monotheistic and personal godhead, such as simplicity and infinity, are ruled out of court in a theology of the Veda, and that others, immutability or eternity, for instance, can be looked for there only in a very qualified sense.

In a restricted signification, too, have the attributes of action in God in the R̥V. to be accepted. It is, in the first place, obvious that the deity in the R̥V. is not endowed with either power or action of intellect beyond a degree suitable to a Superman. The same applies to the will of the Vedic gods in general. As for individuals in the pantheon, Varuṇa again seems to be the god in whom most knowledge is centred. True, his knowledge is mainly concerned with good and bad, apparent in the doings of man. The comprehension and intensity of the knowledge in Varuṇa is symbolised by his Spies, खर and इह, at the commandment of the god. Again it is remarkable that Varuṇa's knowledge appears more in the service of avenging punishment than of reward. Pūṣan knows, above all, good, safe ways, he follows with his mind's eye cattle strayed away, and is implored to bring it back. Agni, as the हव्यह्वान, some kind of mediator between man and the gods, knows both the earthly and the celestial regions; he is, of course, an expert in his profession as a sacrificial priest. Both Varuṇa and Mitra "look down on herds, as it were, from the lofty sky, they, full of R̥ta, the all-lords, set for worship. Better pathfinders indeed than the Eye, with unhindered sight, even when winking perceiving they perceive". Mitra, in his close relation to the Sun, the eye of both Mitra and Varuṇa, watches over friendships and guards contracts. The Aśvina have knowledge of people in distress and display a good deal of practical sense in rescuing them. The R̥bhus are the skilled artisans of the gods. The later deity of Wisdom, Sarasvatī, is a mere stream in the R̥V. The eagle boasts that he knows the generations of the gods. Saramā, the bitch, shows an uncommon amount of shrewdness and fixity of purpose in the discovery of the kine hidden away by the Paṇis.

It is clear that the knowledge of the Vedic gods extends in the first instance over the range of their jurisdiction, and

that its objects are chiefly material, ritual, and moral. Indra's interests are too well known to be repeated here; the Rbhus show artistic knowledge and talent; Agni is most conversant with the sacrifice and its purpose; Mitra sees to truthfulness and faithfulness in particular, as Varuna has an eye on right and wrong in general. None of the gods is all-knowing as none of them is all-present. If omniscience is attributed to any of them, it is either a mere compliment made for a special purpose, or it is restricted through the context. But it is not so clear from the Samhitā text whether the Vedic poets ever intended to invest all the gods, taken together, with omniscience, though it is said that the gods never close their eyes, and that they rule the world in wisdom and have knowledge of all that stands and moves. If ever there was a being, whose knowledge in the mind of the Aryan worshipper may have approached all-knowingness, it was Dyauspitr. But this is true only of the Indo-Iranian, not the Vedic, Dyauspitr.

The will of the deity in the RV. is manifested by the generally kind attitude of the gods towards man. They are bright, not only in their physical appearance, but through a cheerful disposition of mind as well, in the same degree as the रक्षस, the demons, shun the light and are ill-disposed. The general and close connection of the gods with Rta makes them share in all that Rta connotes: truth, harmony in the macrocosm, and the right order in man, the microcosm, the proper procedure in cult, the sacrifice in particular. On the whole, the gods stand for what notion of goodness and sanctity, right and order are traceable in the RV. Equivalents for good and its contrary साधु are straight and crooked, ऋतु and वृजिन.

Both the terminology for good and bad and the relation of the individual gods to Rta put it beyond doubt that that

is good which is according to Rta, and that is bad which is against Rta. Rta then may be considered as the highest principle of rectitude in the RV. or, in terms of personal monotheism, as the supreme will, the conformity with which is Right and Virtue, the opposition to which is Wrong and Sin. But as the personal character of Rta is so little developed it would be hazardous to say that in Rta itself there is a free will. All that can be stated with certainty is that there is no exterior limitation to the freedom of Rta, there being no higher principle than Rta. But whether there is no internal, natural direction and determination in one way, so that no other could be chosen, is more than the text of the Samhitā warrants to decide. The question becomes the more difficult, the less the hymns show Rta otherwise but as principle of the right order, both intellectually and morally, consequently always as working for good.

Exercising their power, the Vedic gods divide the universe among themselves, each of them ruling within his sphere of jurisdiction. It is obvious that these spheres, as the mythological figures themselves, are overlapping at times. The power of every Vedic god cannot, consequently, be said to be absolute even in his own domain. Yet, barring necessary restrictions, the gods, especially the major ones, rule in heaven, like Varuna, in midspace, as Indra, or, Agni, on earth. The individual limitations are clearly shown in the alliances sought and concluded either temporarily or for good. Cp. the Indra-Vṛtra fight in which all the available forces of the devas were arrayed on Indra's side. It is this clubbing together for common purpose which made on the Vedic worshipper, at all times, the impression of the unicity of the godhead, and which in a comparatively late passage found expression in the pretty comparison: The cars are many, but the road is one.

The gods exercise their power for the benefit of man:

their protection ranges from the assuring presence and kindly assistance of Agni as a house-friend and brother, to the military alliance and leadership, specially Indra's, which brings victory to the pious Āryas in their struggle for life and against the godless aborigines. Health and wealth are bestowed by the gods; Varuṇa has power to loosen the fetters, which sin has thrown round the evil-doer. These fetters, actually physical illness, symbolise the moral bondage into which the sinner has cast himself, and out of which only repentance on his part and the forgiving grace of Varuṇa will lead him. Thus there are Vedic gods holding sway over the physical and the moral world.

The rule of the gods is not sovereign, not even in their own spheres, in which they depend upon Vrata. Vrata, already in Vedic language, means both realm, sphere of jurisdiction and course, rule. It seems generally to signify the rule and law of individual gods, in some cases apparently said to have been laid down by themselves, certainly observed by all of them. Rta, on the other hand, would signify the general norm which the god follows in his own respective and individual Vrata. Vrata would generally discriminate one god from the other; through Rta they are linked together. Through this common bond of Rta the gods could amalgamate and be identified; with Rta even interdependence and mutual generation do not seem such an absurdity as with self-contained individuals. If Henotheism could be accepted, Rta together with the general notion of the godhead might be used for an explanation, though not a proof. Here again the sum total of the power of all the gods is far from amounting to omnipotence. At no time of the Rgveda was there a being explicitly credited with omnipotence, not even for a short time. The most comprehensive power is exercised by Rta, which is at least negatively omnipotent, as there is no other power superior or equal to it.

The concrete figure of many of the Vedic gods suggests that the authors of the hymns claim to have seen the objects of their inspiration and worship in bodily shape. This is expressed in the traditional title of the Vedic poets as "Seers"; the sūktas are supposed to have been a vision. Vrata and Rta were products of direct perception and inference to everybody who had eyes to see and a mind to reason; the reference in the first mandala सचंते धाम, 1.123.8, where धाम stands for Rta, is too indefinite and probably too late a statement to allow the conclusion that the Universal Law was personified as well. Not only did the Rsis see gods by sight, they conversed with them and joined them in sport; penitent Vasiṣṭha ruefully recalls the good old days when he had access to Varuna's mansion with a hundred doors. Whatever may have been the exact nature of the Vedic gods—whether they were functionaries of Rta in the first place and embodiments of natural forces and facts in the second, or vice versa, there does not seem anything in the gods hidden from the mental eye of the Vedic singers, in other words, there are no theological mysteries in the RV. The doubt whether a god knows or does not, is the sarcastic expression of a sceptic which was met with no better reply than the impatient emphasis: This, ye people, is Indra. For already in the older parts of the Samhita, the position of the Vedic was not absolutely secure; in course of time, one after the other fell to be replaced by the one of the Upanisads and the new Many of the Puranas.

PERSIAN MYSTERIES

p. 220

(translated from the Italian "*I Misteri*" of Raffaele Pettazzoni, Bologna 1924, by J. M. Unvala, Ph.D.)

Persian mysteries are those of Mithra (τὰ Περσῶν τοῦ Μίθρα μυστήρια Origen. c. *Cels.* 6, 22).

Mithra is not a deity of the vegetation. He is a very old god of the sky. He is the "lord of vast fields" (*Mīhr Yasht* = *Yasht* 10); but these "fields" are originally and essentially the luminous spaces of heaven. Thus Mithraism, presents itself at once as a problem for the history of religions—the problem of a heavenly deity placed at the head of a mysteric religion, being the titular god of one of those mysteries, which usually have developed, from agrarian cults, and are, therefore, naturally turned towards the ground and the underground rather than towards the sky. In order to resolve this problem, and to understand the peculiar character of Mythraic mysteries, it is befitting to follow the Persian religion in the whole of its development, beginning with the Iranian origins.¹ In fact, the mysteries of Mithra also, like those of Tamuz, like those of Osiris, like those of Attis, like those of Sabazios, like those of Dionysos and of Demeter, show some primitive elements, which have survived from the remotest antiquity, as we shall see.

Mithra is mentioned together with another god, p. 221
Varuna, already in a cuneiform tablet from Boghaz-Köi of about 1300 B.C.², which is, leaving aside the question of

1 R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra nella storia religiosa dell' Iran* ("Storia delle religioni" 1), Bologna 1920.

2 E. Meyer, *Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte*, Sitzungsber. d. Berlin. Akad. 1908, 14 seq. Cf. H. Figulla, E. F. Weidner, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Leipzig 1916 and seq. (R. Pettazzoni, *op. cit.* 46 seq.).

the redaction of the *Vedas*, the oldest written document of the religion of an Indo-European people, that has come down to us.

Mithra and *Varuṇa* were divinities adored by the Aryans in India, divinities of that religion, which had as its sacred books the *Vedas*. It is in this religion that the intimate connection of the two divine figures appears, and is linguistically confirmed by the frequent occurrence of the *dvandva* compound *Mitravaruṇau*. This ancient and constant association of the two gods must have at its basis an essential affinity of their nature. In fact, both were originally, most probably, gods of the sky under two different aspects: the diurnal (*Mitra*) and the nocturnal (*Varuṇa*) (*Rgveda*, 1, 115, 5).

Whereas in India *Mitra* appears apart from *Varuṇa*, as lacking a distinct personality, (a single hymn, *Rgveda*, 3, 59, is dedicated to him individually), in Iran, on the contrary, *Mithra* was and remained the god of the luminous (diurnal and clear) heaven, distinct from and subordinated to the god of the whole and immanent celestial vault (cf. Herod. I, 131), who was, as *Varuṇa*, as *Zeus*, as *Jupiter*, the supreme god.

Of this supreme god of the primitive Iranian polytheism the reform of Zarathushtra¹ made its unique god, *Ahura Mazda* "the lord who knows". In fact, Zoroastrianism was a monotheistic religion founded on the negation of several naturalistic deities (*daevas*) existing in the Iranian paganism, who were henceforth considered as so many demons, adversaries of *Ahura Mazda*. *Mithra* is not mentioned in the *Gathas*, the oldest texts of Zoroastrianism, which reflect most closely and most faithfully the ideas of the Reformer. In a later period Zoroastrianism attenuated

1 R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra*, 49 seq.

its absolute and intransigent monotheism. That happened especially when from western Iran, namely from Media, whence it was originated the Zoroastrian movement was spread towards the east, and entered into Persia.

In this Persian surrounding, where the ancient polytheistic and "pagan" religion was in complete vigour and co-operated in strengthening the national and imperial state of the Achæmenides, Zoroastrianism did not impose itself in its orthodox form, which it maintained in sacerdotal circles, and mainly restricted itself, it seems, in forming proselytes among the highest classes of society. The people, the general mass of the nation, remained attached to the cult of its ancient nature gods. *Ahura Mazda* was the supreme god, (*mathishta bagānām*: inscription of Behistun); he was officially venerated as such, though not as the unique god, by the sovereigns themselves (inscriptions of Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes II, Artaxerxes III).¹ The same sovereigns venerated and invoked besides *Ahura Mazda* also "other gods" (*baga*), "all gods" (*vithaibish bagaibish*: inscription of Persepolis), especially *Mithra* (Artaxerxes II, Artaxerxes III)¹. This was not all. *Mithra*, like other divinities (e.g., *Anahita*: p. 232) finally imposed himself on Zoroastrianism, to the effect that Zoroastrianism incorporated him in the form which alone was allowable according to its monotheistic doctrine, that is to say, not as a *daeva*, this word and its meaning being henceforth reserved for accursed demons, but as one of the good *yazatas* (i.e., "worthy of respect," "venerable," or "holy," a divine figure, but subordinated to the unique god); a *yazata*, however, superior to the others, excellent among all, "sent by *Ahura Mazda* to keep watch over the world" (*Yasht* 10, 103). p. 223

1 *Ibid.* p. 123 seq., 130, 132.

This was an effect of the reaction in Persia by the traditional religion on the reformed one; and this was not the only one. Zoroastrianism in its early period, which is represented in the *Gathas*, had abolished, together with the *daevas*, bloody sacrifices made in their honour (*Yasna* 29, 1; 32, 12, 14; 44, 20)¹ as well as intoxicating libations of the sacred *haoma*, which accompanied them (*Yasna* 32, 14; 48, 10). In fact, both the sacrifices and the libations were practised in the ancient naturalistic and pagan Iranian religion. If in later Zoroastrianism, as represented in the post-Gathic *Avesta*, bloody sacrifices reappear (*Yasna* 62, 1-2)² and if *haoma* was not only readmitted in the cult (cf. *Yasna*, 11, 4, seq.), but also its preparation and libation became the central act of the liturgy of Parsism (*Hom Yasht* = *Yasht* 20), it was on account of the influence exercised by the national Persian religion, in which those rites were perpetuated from the times of the proto-Iranian origins, and certainly continued to exist even after the advent of Zoroastrianism.

Sacrifices of animals (oxen, horses, camels, donkeys, sheep) to different divinities are in fact attested, independently of Zoroastrianism, among the Persians (Herod. 1,

1 The passages of the *Avesta* are generally quoted after the translation of Ch. Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's des Avesta*, Strassburg 1905, and Fr. Wolff, *Avesta* (without the *Gathas*), Strassburg 1910. Cf. the French translation of Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* (Annales du Musée Guimet, Vol. XXI, XXII, XXIV), Paris 1892-1893. Some passages are translated by Geldner in *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* of Bertholet (Tübingen 1908), 323 seq., and by Lehmann in his *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig 1912), 256. (Partial) Italian translations: I. Pizzi, *Zarathustra, L'Avesta* (in the collection "Gli Immortali"), 1914; F.C. Cannizzaro, *Il Vendidad reso italiano*, Messina 1916.

2 "And in the hand holding twigs and vervain and the ritual piece of meat": ("e in man reggendo e sarmenti e verbene e il rituale lembo di carne") transl. Pizzi, *op. cit.*, 157.

132 seq.; cf. *Vendidad* 22, 3, 4). Similarly the use of intoxicating drinks is evidenced in connection with the cult of Mithra himself (Ctes. and Duris ap. Athen. 10, 45, p. 434), i.e., in those famous *Mithrakanas* (Μιθράκανα), p. 224 which were spread even outside Persia, and survived in Persia itself so long that their traces are found even in the Mohammedan epoch.¹ Here we touch directly the primitive ground of the Persian religion. A primitive and archaic cult of Mithra, belonging to the oldest stratum of the Iranian religion, having maintained itself in Persia, especially among the popular classes even after the penetration of Zoroastrianism: such was the original nucleus of that complex formation, which became afterwards Mithraism. Such was the first phase of that development, which finally ended into Mithraic mysteries. The sacrifice of the bull, which became the centre of the whole Mithraic system, will have been originally one of those bloody sacrifices, which were common to the Iranian paganism and still continued to be celebrated in Persia, even after the *Gathas* had prohibited the killing of the cattle and proclaimed the sanctity of the cattle (*Yasna* 33, 3-4; 44, 6; 50, 2). Probably this conspicuous and costly sacrifice had originally formed a part of solemn agrarian rites, destined to promote the fertility of fields, these rites being possibly similar to some ceremonies practised, e.g., in Egypt, where a dispersion of the meat of a bull or other slaughtered animal on the fields took place (p. 152), or to those practised in Anatolia, where a bull

1 Fr. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I and II (Bruxelles 1899 and 1896). This fundamental work will be henceforth quoted omitting the title, with the only indication of the volumes and of the relative pages. Cf. Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*.³ Bruxelles 1913; A. Gasquet, *Essai sur le culte et les mystères de Mithra*, 1899; E. Rosse, *Ueber Mithrasdienst*, Stralsund, 1915; G. Wolff, *Ueber Mithrasdienst u. Mithreen*, Frankfurt 1909; A. Dietrich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*,² 1910 (cf. Cumont, *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique* 1904, 1).

was slaughtered (*taurobolium*, p. 132) in a ritual hunt (p. 108)¹ or to those practised by the Thracians, who after pursuing a bull or other animal (p. 62 seq.) tore it to pieces, that being the rite, on which the whole system of Orphism rests. Thus, it is that certain most archaic elements, which were perpetuated in Mithraism, upto the most recent times, receive an explanation, as the survival of those primitive phases of the religion, *e.g.* the customs of the initiates to
 p. 225 masquerade in animal forms (p. 266), precisely like the Thracians, who in the above-mentioned celebrations used to assume the aspect of some animal (p. 63). The agrarian religion of the Thracians offers another comparison : that is the custom of worshippers of exalting themselves with wine (p. 63), just as the Persians did with *haoma*, the sacred drink, with which the sovereign of Persia, and the sovereign only, intoxicated himself (and also danced) (Duris *ap.* Athen. *l. c.*) on the occasion of the above-named *Mithrakanas*, (the practice will have been originally a more general one). Similarly among the Scythians, that is in a surrounding intermediate between Iranian and Thraco-Phrygian, the *Sakaia* festivals, celebrated *annually* at Zela in the Pontus (p. 234), to which dances and libations of wine and sexual license conferred an orgiastic character (ἡ τῶν Σακαίων ἐορτὴ βαρχεῖα τις)² and which, according to the tradition went back "to the time of Cyrus" (Strab. II, p. 512), will have been originally the ancient agrarian rites of the indigenous population (of the "Sakas"), on which afterwards the Persian cult of the goddess *Anahita*³ was superposed.

1 Cf. the view held by Camont (cf. I, 334) that the *taurobolium* was primitively belonging to the cult of the Persian goddess *Anāhita* (certainly not to the cult of Mithra).

2 Ἐξοίνους...δοχούμενοι καὶ βαρχεύοντες γυμνοί... πινόντων ἅμα καὶ πληκτιζομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα τε καὶ τὰς συμπινούσας γυναῖκας : Strab. *l. cit.*

3 Cf. C. Clemen, *Neue Jahrb.* 1922, 125.

On the other hand the *haoma* has its most exact counterpart in the Vedic *Soma*. In the Vedic religion also a ritual sacrifice with bloody victims and libations of *Soma* as its basis was the central religious act, from which that movement of the theological thought took its origin, which finally culminated in the speculations of Brahmanism. It is therefore not out of place to think that a rudimentary cosmological and eschatological belief developed correspondingly also among the Iranian peoples around the agrarian sacrifice of the bull and the libations of *haoma*, which p. 226 carried the individual in an ultramundane sphere. In substance, it is always the rite, which reflects itself into the myth; and even when the myth reaches, as in India, the summit of the speculative thought, its humble religious origins are not thereby annulled. In a similar way a superior eschatology could be developed from Thracian rudimentary religion, giving origin to Orphism (p. 60).

We find in Iran an eschatology oriented for the most part towards heaven. The case is not at all exceptional; it has on the contrary numerous points of comparison in the ancient and modern ethnography. Again, the blessed, considered as the "fathers" (*pitaras*) dwelt, according to the *Vedas* (*R̥gveda*, 14, 1, 8; cf. 1, 154, 6)¹ in the third sky. Nor is such a lofty eschatology to be found only among peoples of a relatively advanced civilisation (traces are found also in Greece, among the Israelites etc.):¹ the belief that the souls of the dead resided in heaven and especially in the stars, is common to many absolutely primitive peoples of all continents.² It would be interes-

1 J. Scheffelowitz, *Der Seelen- und Unsterblichkeitsglauben im Alten Testament*, Archiv. f. Religionswiss. 19 (1919), 217.

2 Cf. P. Capelle, *De luna, stellis, lacteo orbe animarum sedibus* (Diss.), Halle, 1917. Cf. McCulloch, in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, II, 681 seq. Several examples are alleged also in vol. I of my *Formazione e sviluppo del monoteismo* (Roma 1922), 17 (Australia), 205 (Africa meridionale).

ting to establish, whether this heavenly eschatology depends on the rite of cremation as well as the chthonic one possibly depends on that of inhumation. As among many peoples, *e.g.*, among the Greeks, both the funeral rites were practised, thus the heavenly eschatology does not exclude the chthonic, the one co-existing possibly with the other in the belief of the same people, according to certain criteria by which the destiny of the soul in heaven or under earth is regulated. This case is also verified among ancient peoples of Iran.

p. 227 It is true that as regards the Iranian eschatological beliefs, and as much can be said of the cosmological, we do not know them in their primitive form, but only as they appear in the text of a relatively later period, and, what is worse, conceived in a thoroughly reformed spirit, which is practically a transforming one. But even in such texts the elements of a primitive belief, however changed and made to suit the fundamental principle of the Reform, are still present; and so much more in the later ones, these having especially undergone the reaction exercised by paganism on genuine Zoroastrianism in the Persian country (p. 222 seq.). Even the capital dogma of Zoroastrianism, *i.e.*, the antagonistic dualism between the principle of good (*Ahura Mazda, Ohrmazd*) and the principle of evil (*Angra Mainyu, Ahriman*), which especially in the extra-Gathic (post-Gathic)¹ *Avesta* is pressed to the extreme consequences, contained in itself, as its original nucleus, the elementary mythical motive of the fight between light and darkness. Likewise, if in Zoroastrianism (we find that) from the body of the primordial bull (already in the Gatha *Geush urvan* "the soul of the bull", *Geush tashan* "the maker of the bull", *Yasna* 29, 1, 2; 31, 9), created together with the primordial man (*Gaya* or *Gayomart*) by *Ahura Mazda*

1 Cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra* 56 seq.

and killed by Angra Mainyu, proceeds the whole vegetable world, as well as (from its sperm) the whole animal world (*Bundahish* 4), whereas from another bull sacrificed by the "Savior" (*Saoshyant*) at the end of the times (with the typical accompaniment of *haoma*) the just ones will obtain immortality also for their resuscitated human bodies (*Bundahish* 30, 25), this Zoroastrian cosmology can be considered as a mythical development of the primitive p. 228 ritualistic sacrifice of the bull into the twofold cosmic projection, at the beginning and at the end of the world. Analogously, as regards eschatology, as the Zoroastrian doctrine of the *Fravashis* (the original archetypes of all things, and of all beings of the good order, existing *ab initio* by the creating act of Ahura Mazda, destined to assume by degrees temporarily earthly forms and existences in the progressive course of the history of the world) can be reconducted to the elementary animistic belief in the spirits of the dead¹; thus, in the Zoroastrian beliefs concerning the destiny of the soul after death (the judgment before the heavenly tribunal, the passage over the fatal bridge *Cinvat* [already in the *Gathas* the "bridge of the judge": *Yasna* 46, 10], the precipitation of the damned souls in hell, the voyage of the blessed souls across the three heavens [that of the stars or of "good thoughts": *humata*, that of the moon or of "good words": *huxta*, and that of the sun or of "good actions": *hvarshsta*] to the highest firmament (*Garotmān*), the residence of Ahura Mazda)², however modified in a dualistic and moralising spirit, one can detect the elements of a primitive

1 Cf. N. Söderblom, *Les Fravashis*, *Revue de l'hist. des relig.* 39 (1899), 229 seq.; *La vie future d'après le Mazdéisme* (*Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Etudes*, IX), Paris 1901.

2 Cf. *Yasna* I, 17; 4, 21; 7, 18; cf. Bousset, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 4. 1901, 155 seq.

eschatology not unaware of earth, yet mainly oriented towards heaven.

In this eschatology the heavenly element far from being the invention of a speculative mind under a systematic dualistic bias, opposed to the infernal element, is derived from a fund of popular beliefs, as not only it appears from the popular and fantastic system¹ of the three heavens (the stars, the moon, and the sun), but rather more from p. 229 the fact that the bridge of *Cinvat*, the bridge over which the soul goes forth to heaven (Bousset says that it "seems to appertain to the most archaic fund of the Iranian religion")² could have been originally the *rainbow*, which among many peoples, also among "savages", is considered precisely as a bridge thrown between earth and heaven. On the side of the earth the bridge of *Cinvat* rests on the highest mountain *Hara* (*Haraberezaiti*). This mountain which touches with its summit heaven is precisely (*Yasht* 10, 50 seq.) the abode of Mithra. As the lord of heaven (p. 221), i.e., of the luminous spaces through which the soul passes in its ascension towards the empyreum, Mithra is naturally associated with the eschatological belief. Perhaps originally it was Mithra himself who guided the soul in its celestial journey. Later on in Parsism we find Mithra talking part in company of *Rashna* and *Sraosha* in the judgment of the soul after death (*Yasht* 10, 126; cf. *Vendidad* 7, 52?). We do not know exactly which motives had led to the association of Mithra with that sacrifice of the bull (p. 224), which seems to us to be an agrarian rite, and was perhaps the most solemn rite of the primitive Iranian religion. But if it is true that in this solemnity the worshippers drank the sacred *haoma* and being exalted by intoxication

¹ Bousset, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*, Archiv f. Religionswiss. 4. 1901, 160.

² *Ibid.* 155 n. 3.

felt themselves conveyed to another superhuman world, to that world where also, according to their belief, the souls of the dead (of certain dead) ascended, it is clear that by this means the first association of Mithra with the eschatological beliefs of the Persians possibly took place (p. 257 seq.). In certain legends of holy persons, carried off alive to heaven, legends which although related in the late *Pehlevi* texts (*Ardā Virāf*, *Zardushtnāme*, *Bahman Yasht*) are not deprived of ancient elements, the elected ones ascended to heaven in a state of ecstasy produced by means of an intoxicating drink.¹ Through his luminous nature, through his position specially intermediate between heaven and earth (p. 259), and hierarchically subordinated to the highest Ahura Mazda, Mithra was naturally destined to become the intermediary between God and humanity. This insertion of Mithra in the eschatological beliefs of the Persians probably founded on a naturalistic datum, viz., on the celestial nature of this most ancient Indo-Iranian divinity, had most important consequences for the future of the destiny of the god. This was the point of departure whence Mithra came to become the saviour of humanity, initiating that soteriological transformation of his, which was perfected in the Mithraic mysteries.

But this process from which the mysteries grew out was, like in other religions, slow and long. It was completed only out of the original surrounding, when the Persian religion, after being definitely constituted in Persia on the basis of the ancient Iranian paganism, modified with the contact of Zoroastrianism, sprang up from the national territory and moved forward towards the West. The first stage was Babylonia.

Babylonia was the winter resort of the Achaemenides. Here the "Magi", or the priests of the Persian religion,

1 *Ibid.* 162 seq.

were certainly present in a great number with the court. Although they kept themselves distinct from the "Chaldæi", *i.e.*, from the priests of the Babylonian religion, (only among the Greeks, and then among the Romans, the distinction was effaced: cf. Lucian *Menipp.* 6), enjoying, as it seems, of a right of precedence (Quint. Curt. 5, 1, 22; cf. 3, 3, 9 seq.) among them, this did not hinder them to appropriate at least locally some elements, of the Babylonian religion, above all astral elements, in accordance with the astrological character of this religion. Mithra underwent in a special manner this Babylonian influence so much that he could be afterwards designated in the West as a "Babylonian" or "Assyrian" god.¹ The Babylonisation of Mithra consisted in his assimilation with *Shamash*, the Babylonian god of the Sun, to which Mithra was naturally akin, being himself the divinity of the luminous heaven. Likewise the Persian eschatology was modified in the Babylonian sense,² especially in that part which was oriented (p. 226) towards heaven.³ Thus it happened that for the three heavens plus the empyreum, the more complex system of the seven planetary spheres was substituted: the soul of the righteous, departing from the earth in order to attain the supreme heaven of Ahura Mazda, passed through seven interposed celestial spheres corresponding to the seven planets, and thus successively got rid of the natural tendencies owed to the astral influences of every one of the traversed planets, tendencies which were at first attached to her, and which she had put on like garments

1 Cumont I, p. 9.

2 Bousset, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 4. 1901, 234 seq.

3 But without forgetting the earth (cf. the *Aralu* of the ancient Babylonian religion): the Magi "of Zoroaster" in Babylonia were able to make a living person descend into the hell and to make him come up again by means of their rites and conjurations: Lucian. *Menipp.*, 6.

when she had to pass through the planetary spaces in an opposite course during its journey of descent from heaven on the earth.¹ A reflex of this belief, being a precious evidence of its antiquity, is to be found, as it seems, in the Platonic myth of the "Armenian" *Er* ("Ho") (Plat. *resp.* 614 b seq.), who by the Epicurean philosopher Colotes (third century B.C.) was taken for Zoroaster, whereas others made him the teacher of Zoroaster (Procl. in Plat. *remp. comm.* II, 109 seq. Kroll). Another Babylonian idea, which then will have penetrated into the religion of the Magi (traces of it are found in the West in Eudemos of Rhodes, a pupil of Aristotle fr. 117 FPHG III, p. 289) is that of the infinite Time, *Zrvan akarana*, which fatally presides over the destiny of the world and of all things. This conception, which does not appear in the orthodox Zoroastrianism (*Zrvan* "the time" is, according to the Avesta, created by Ahura Mazda: *Vendidad* 19, 13 and 16), whereas it appears later as the fundamental doctrine of a Zoroastrian dissident sect, the *Zravanites*, according to which Ohrmazd as well as Ahriman was issued from *Zrvan*², became on the contrary proper to Mithraism, which diffused it also in the West, as we shall see (p. 247). p. 232

From the Babylonian religion and Babylonian art the Persians, *who did not know originally the anthropomor-*

1 For the western Mithraism, cf. Cels. ap. Origen. c. *Cels.* 1, 9; Porphyry., *de antro nymph.* 5 seq. Cp. the capital value of this doctrine in the Gnosis: Anz. *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, Leipzig 1897; Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 1907. Cf. the article "Gnosis" in *Realencyklop.* VII, 1502.

2 R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra*, 189. Against the attempt of P. Alfarié, *Zoroastre avant l'Avesta*, *Revue d'hist. et de littér. relig.* 7. 1921, 1 seq., 145 seq., making Zervanism dependent on an ancient poem in Greek (contemporaneous with the Orphic poetry) attributed to Zoroaster, cf. Fr. Cumont, *Zoroastre chez les Grecs et la doctrine zervaniste*, *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel.* 8. 1922, 1 seq.

phic conception and representation of the divinity (Herod. I, 131; cf. Dinon fr. 9 FHG. II, p. 91; Strab. 15, 3, 13, p. 732), learned also the use of divine statues and generally speaking of the divine images (cf. Curt. 3, 3, 15), and applied it to their own divinities, including Ahura Mazda¹, and particularly to a goddess who seems to have incorporated in her figure, through assimilation with *Ishtar* (p. 203 seq.), several Assyro-Babylonian elements (cf. Herod. I, 131): this goddess is *Anāhita*, properly speaking the "immaculate" the deity of irriguous and fertilising waters, afterwards admitted also into Zoroastrianism, of course as a *yazata* (*Arđvī Sūra Anāhita*; cf. *Arđvīsur Yasht* = *Yasht* 5). *Anāhita* was, together with *Mithra*, one of the most popular divinities of the Persian national religion; together with *Mithra* she is often expressly mentioned in the monumental inscriptions of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (B.C. 405-359), who in fact diffused her statues, and also her cult, even outside Persia proper, in Babylonia, in Susa, and upto the remotest satrapies of his empire, from Babylonia to Damascus in Syria and to Sardes in Lydia (Beros. fr. 16 FHG II, p. 508).

Thus in the cult of *Anāhita* we find in the Achæmenian epoch for the first time a sort of religious syncretism (precluding other syncretic formations on a wider scale) associated with the first expansion of the Persian religion in non-Persian countries, from Babylonia, which was then, so to say, the second capital of the empire, as far as the most peripheric regions. Thereupon, when the empire of the Achæmenides was destroyed in 330 B.C., the expansion of the religion became more intense by means of the Persian "diaspora", through the work especially of the Persian priests, the "Magi", who escaped immediate subjugation

1 Semi-anthropomorphic representations of Ahuramazda on the monuments of Darius I: cf. R. Pettazzoni, *op. cit.* 127.

to the foreign rulers by flight and exile from their mother-country as well as from Babylonia, and sought refuge in Asia Minor, where some satraps of the fallen empire could maintain in fact, if not in name, their sovereignty over the territory ruled by them even after the Greek conquest. These small Anatolian states under more or less legitimate dynasties of Persian origin together with others of a more theocratic character founded and governed by priests (Strab. 12, p. 559), became as many centres of Persian life and civilisation, as well as of the Persian religion.

This Persian religion transplanted in Asia Minor was the national religion of Persia, such as it had been pro- p. 234 fessed by the sovereigns and the people and celebrated by the Magi. It contained (pp. 224, 230) religious elements of oldest Iranian origin besides others also of Iranian origin but belonging to the reformed Mazdaism of Zarathushtra, while other elements of Semitic origin had joined to these in Babylonia. So composite in character the Persian religion was spread in Asia Minor. In Armenia, a country which in its whole civilisation, strongly and constantly underwent the Persian influence, we find the cult of the most popular goddess (Ishtar-)Anāhita (Strab. 11, p. 532; 12, p. 559) side by side with that of *Vahagn*,¹ who is the Avestic *Verethraghna* ("the Victory") with some traits of *Zrvan*.² In Cappadocia, which was one of the principal centres of the Iranian diaspora, where the Persian calendar³ was adopted, perhaps since 400 B.C., Anāhita and *Omanos*, i.e., *Vohu Mano* "good Thought", were worshipped together (Strab. 15, p. 733). The latter, originally a personified abstraction, such as are frequent

1 Gelzer, *Zur armenischen Götterlehre*, Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1896, 104 seq. 137.

2 Cumont I, 133 and 19 n. 7.

t I, 11, n. 1; II, 6.

in Zoroastrianism, had fallen from its primitive purity low enough to become represented even anthropomorphically by a statue, which was carried in procession (perhaps with another of Anāhita herself: p. 233). Anāhita had a cult also at Zela in Pontus together with Omanos and another (Zoroastrian?) divine figure *Anadates* (= *Ameretāt*?: Strab. 11, p. 512). The Magi, coming from Babylonia, had penetrated into Cappadocia, according to the authority of St. Basilus (*epist.* 258 *ad Epiphanium*); he found them there still in his time (fourth century A.D.)

p. 235 and attributes them the Perso-Babylonian conception of Zrvan (Basil. *l. cit.*). In some inscriptions of Cappadocia of the second and first century B.C. the personified "good Mazdean religion"—*Dēn māzdayasnish* (*dēn*=*daēnā*)—is mentioned, side by side with a god *Bel*, who would be in reality Ahura Mazda under the name of the corresponding Babylonian (supreme) god. Such inscriptions are written in the "Chaldeo-Pehlevi" language and in Aramaic characters.¹ Aramaic was in fact the spoken language in Cappadocia. The term *μαγισαῖοι* with which the Magi were designated there (Bardesanes, Basilus, Epiphanius) was exactly the Aramaic *magusāyē*, where the archaic suffix of the plural (instead of *magusē*) goes to confirm the antiquity of the penetration of the Magi. As for the cult, it seems that the Magi of Cappadocia were attached to the ancient traditional Persian cult, rather than to the Zoroastrian liturgy, at least to judge from the lack of sacred books (Basil. *l. cit.*).² On the contrary

1 Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris f. semit Epigr.* 1 (Giessen 1902), 60 seq.: 3, 65 seq. Cf. H. Reichelt, *Wiener Zeitschr. f. die Kunde des Morgenl.* 15, 1901, 51 seq. Cf. the bilingual inscription (Greek and Aramaic) of Farasha (Rhodandos) in Cappadocia: Grégoire, *Compt. rend. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B. L.* 1908, 434 seq.

2 This statement of St. Basil is confirmed by the Armenian Eznig who depends on Theodorus of Mopsueste (Cumont I, 19). (It

the use of the sacred texts flourished in the Persian religion, as it was practised by the Magi in Lydia (in the cities of Hierocaesarea and Hypaipa); during the office celebrated near the altars of fire they "recited in a barbarous tongue incomprehensible to the Greeks, reading in a book" (Paus. 5, 275). The *Magusei* existed in the time of Bardesanes (ap. Euseb. *praep. evang.* 6, 10, p. 275 c-d, 1, p. 353 Gifford) also in Phrygia (inscription of Amorion) and Galatia, as well as in Egypt.

That Mithra was not only present,¹ but enjoyed a special veneration in this Persian religion transplanted in Asia Minor can be argued at least from the frequency of *theophore* names formed with *Mithra* (especially *Mithradates*) in the onomastics of the sovereigns of the Iranian p. 236 dynasties of Anatolia.² If some one of them had succeeded in making out of this small hereditary principality a great, powerful, and durable state, as it happened for a short time to the sovereigns of Pontus, especially to Mithridates Eupator (died A.D. 63), perhaps in Anatolia together with the resurrection of an Iranian state also a revival of the Persian religion with Mithra at its head, a sort of official Mithraism should have taken place.³ The Persian religion in Anatolia evolved on the contrary on a thoroughly different plane, developing itself into a

is true that Basil says also, against what Strabo affirms, that the Magi of Cappadocia did not practise animal sacrifices). The want of written texts must have been supplied by the oral transmission of the doctrines (Basil *l. cit.*) as well as of the prayers and formulae. The use of the liturgical recitations as accompaniment of bloody sacrifices goes back to the ancient Persian custom: Herod. 1, 132.

1 Mithra had a place (as titular god of the seventh month) in the Persian calendar adopted in Armenia and Cappadocia: Cumont II, p. 6, I, p. 132.

2 Cumont II, 75 seq.

3 Cumont I, 240.

mystical and esoteric, instead of an official Mithraism, at any rate into a Mithraism with an accentuation of those eschatological and soteriological elements, originally present in it, over which the cult of Mithra had superposed itself (p. 229, 258).

These elements transmitted from Iranian origins (p. 224) and belonging to the deep substratum of the popular religious conscience, though altered and modified in course of time, were never destroyed, and though obscured by the prevalence of other cults and other doctrines, were never suppressed: being themselves unsuppressible, they were brought again to the foreground of the religious life in consequence of the downfall of the Persian empire and the following relaxation of national connection, thence resulting for Persia such a situation which is the most favourable for strengthening individual conscience (the individual being then left to himself), and for intensifying individual religion with its eschatological preoccupations and soteriological aspirations. The ancient beliefs about the destiny of the soul after death, in which the figure of Mithra had assumed a conspicuous part (p. 229), received now a new valorisation, especially in the *diaspora*, where the above described conditions lasted long and became more and more worse, because if the national cohesion was shaken in the mother-country, it was more relaxed in foreign countries. In Anatolia, especially after the more or less ephemeral attempted reconstructions of states under Iranian rule, the ethnic (Iranian) elements, among which the Magi preponderated, always came to be more and more reduced to communities of a religious character, tenaciously conservative of the faith of their ancestors, generally closed in the pride of their caste (ἀμικτοὶ ὄντες πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους Basil. *l. cit.*), though not wholly inaccessible to the allogeous peoples. in whose midst they

lived, perhaps also addicted, according to time and place, to a certain proselytism, in such a way that whoever was admitted to partake in cult and religion became also a member of the community, though he was not admitted all at once, but gradually, the supreme knowledge, the perfect practice and the hereditary transmission of religion being reserved for the Magi.

Thus also in the exterior and formal respect the development of the Persian religion towards an esoteric type, such as is usually characteristic of mysteries,¹ was promoted, whereas internally, as we hint, the eschatological and soteriological elements came to prevail; and with them the figure of Mithra passed in the first line. Also in Asia Minor the Persian eschatology was dominated by the ancient belief of the ascension of the (righteous) soul (p. 228 seq.) to the supreme heaven of Ahura Mazda. Such belief is there documented by an epigraphic text of great historico-religious importance. It is the inscription which Antiochos I, king of Commagene (69-34 B.C.), caused to be inscribed on his sepulchral monument erected on one of the ranges of the Taurus (Nemrud Dagħ)². Here, in the solitude of the mountains, almost in nearer proximity to the celestial residences (οὐρανίων ἀγχιστα θρόνων), his body should lie upto the end of times "after having liberated the pious soul towards the celestial thrones of Zeus-Oromasdes" (πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς Ὀρομάσδου θρόνους θεοφιλῇ ψυχὴν προπέμψαν). This syncretistic assimilation of the highest Persian god

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1 Ἐμάγευσε Μίθρη in the inscription of Farasha (n. 28). The Magian Tiridates (king of Armenia) *magicis cenis eum* (= *Nerone*) *initiaverat*: Plin. n. h. 30, 2, 17. Initiatic rites already practised in Persia in the cult of Anāhita (Plut. *Artax.* 3)? Cf. Cumont I, 239, 28 n. 1 and Cumont, *Les myst. de Mithra*³, 26 n. 1.

2 H. v. Harnack-Pachstein, *Reisen in Klein-Asien u. Nord-Syrien*, Berlin 1890, pl. 23, 31, 40; Cumont II, p. 89; cf. p. 187.

(Ohrmazd, Ahura Mazda) with the highest Greek god (Zeus) is not the only one, which recurs in the inscriptions of Antiochos. Among the statues and reliefs which decorated the basement of his sepulchral sanctuary, besides himself and the personified Commagene three divinities figured, who are designated in the inscriptions by their names. They are 1) the above-mentioned *Zeus Oromasdes*; 2) *Mithra* identified with *Apollo*, with *Helios* (through the Babylonian *Shamash*) and with *Hermes* (perhaps as a reflex of the function of Mithra as psychopompus?); and 3) *Artagnes* (= Avesta *Verethraghna*, "the Victory": p. 234), identified with *Herakles* and *Ares* (Διός τε Ὀρουμάσδου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους Ἄρεως).

Such a syncretic process had formerly taken place between Persian divinities and divinities of other oriental religions (Babylonian, Armenian, etc., p. 233 seq.). We find it here for the first time applied also to Greek divinities. The inscription of Antiochos is therefore for us the first Anatolian document of that Hellenisation of Mithraism, which was the first preliminary necessary condition for its ulterior expansion in the West. This was in fact the double-specific contribution, which the Iranian diaspora in Anatolian territory brought in the complicated and laborious process of the constitution of Mithraism as a third moment after the Persian and Babylonian moments. In this Anatolian milieu on the one hand the transformation of the immigrated (Babylonised) Persian religion into the mysteries of Mithra was effectuated, and so the constitution of Mithraism was completed, and on the other hand, consequently, the conditions were prepared by which its vaster western diffusion was rendered possible. For both motives Asia Minor appears as the most important stage of the long road traversed by the religion of Mithra.

It is the stage which closes its previous oriental development along the Iranian, Babylonian and Anatolian lines and opens to it a new western European horizon.

Indeed, not only in so interior a country as Com-magene, at the court of a prince, who was proud of his descent from the Persian dynasty of the Achæmenides and from the Greek dynasty of the Seleucides as well, the influence of Hellenism on the religion of Mithra made itself felt, but also the communities of the Magi being spread here and there in the country of Anatolia, however averse to foreign contacts (p. 237), and however attached to the traditional customs, did not always remain inaccessible to the currents of that Hellenistic civilisation, by which the whole Asia Minor was traversed at that time, and to the tendencies of that invading and assimilating culture, which in Alexandria, *e.g.* spurred the librarian Hermippos to collect and to catalogue numerous volumes, which went p. 240 under the name of Zoroaster (Plin. *nat. hist.* 30, 2, 4).

A further factor which is by no means negligible in concern with the adaptation of a religion quite unaware of anthropomorphism, as the Persian religion was (p. 232), to the plastic needs of the religious conscience of the peoples of Graeco-Roman civilisation, was the creation of a figured type of Mithra, which, when once adopted and consecrated by the religion, became constant and was reproduced, without essential alterations, in hundreds of copies dispersed throughout the Roman world. Such a type, the well-known Mithra *tauroctone*, derived from the classical type (fifth century B.C.) of *Nike* ("Victory") sacrificing a bull, was created, in all probability, about the second century B.C. by a sculptor of the school of Pergamus. (Remarkable in it are the conventionally oriental costume of the god and the *pathos* in the expression of the visage).

But above all what promoted and favoured the diffusion of Mithraism in the West was a capital innovation introduced in the liturgy. The ancient Iranian language, which was a traditional and therefore essential element in the religion of the Magi (Herod. I, 132), and in which the ritual texts, transmitted from generation to generation, were conceived and written (at least among some communities, e.g. in Lydia: p. 235)—that barbarous and incomprehensible language, for which an irreverent author, a native, it must be noted, of Commagene, Lucian (*de deor. conc.* 9; cf. *Menipp.* 7 and 9), did not spare his bitter derision, finding it absurd and ridiculous, was abandoned and substituted by the Greek (p. 250).

We do not know exactly in which part of Asia Minor
 p: 241 this Hellenisation of Mithraism took place, as in general, we are ignorant, where precisely Mithraism attained its definite constitution. That constitution, however, ought to be, at any rate, an accomplished fact, when Mithraism began to be diffused in the West, because there, from the Balkan peninsula to Spain and from North Africa to England, Mithraism appears as an organic and unitarian system, constantly identical, not only in fundamental lines, but also, with few exceptions, in the particulars of minor relief.

Probably the first wave of the western expansion of Mithraism is represented in the Mediterranean incursions of those Cilician pirates,¹ who after having sacked the sanctuaries of several Greek cities, (Plut. *Pomp.* 24), were finally subdued in 67 B.C. by Pompeius, and were partly deported to Dyme and perhaps to Patras (Plut. *Pomp.* 28). They practised, in fact, together with other barbarian cults, the cult of Mithra, which according to

¹ Cf. The Mithraic relief discovered at Isbarta (Baris) in Pisidia: Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*², Bruxelles 1913, 36 in nota.

Plutarch became known for the first time in the West precisely at that time (καταδειχθεῖσα πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνων), and precisely as a cult of a mystical and esoteric character) τελετὰς τινὰς ἀπορρήτους ἐτέλουν). Besides this sporadic prelude,¹ the big western expansion of Mithraism really began during the first century A.D., when the most distant regions of Asia Minor, *i.e.* Cappadocia and Commagene, were incorporated one after the other into the empire and became one of the principal centres for the supply of men to the legions. The Anatolian recruits, who were incorporated in the Roman armies, passed successively from one legion to another and were transferred from one province into another, especially on the frontier. Thus they became the principal agents in the propagation of the religion of Mithra, which was and remained in the first place a religion of soldiers; functionaries of the civil staff as well as merchants (especially Syrians) also had their share in its diffusion. p. 242

It is noteworthy that Greece was in the first expansional movement of Mithraism from Asia into Europe, so to say, leapt over and afterwards always represented a gap in the whole of Mithraic expansion. As such a gap is not likely to be adequately filled up by future discoveries, we are led to see in it the result of a profound congenial incompatibility through which the god of the ancient Persian invaders was steadily kept far from the ground of Hellas. As a matter of fact Mithraism is to be found in Greece proper only in a very few localities (Patras, perhaps

1 Also the journey to Rome of the Arsacide Tiridates (brother of the king of the Parthians) who came to receive from the hands of Nero the investiture of the kingdom of Armenia (Plin. *n. h.* 30. 2 (6), 16 seq.; Tacit. *ann.* 15, 24; Dio Cass., 63, 5 and 7). Tiridates was a great worshipper of Mithra, but it is difficult to speak of a real and veritable Mithraism in Parthia at the time of the Arsacides: cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Rel. di Zarat.* 171; Cumont I, p. 279.

in connection with the deportation of the pirates of Cilicia to Dyme: Plut. *Pomp.* 28; Piraeus; Andros), in which connection, however, the eventual reflux of a wave starting from the Latin world and reaching Asia Minor and Egypt, also deserves consideration.¹

A little before 100 A.D. the presence of the cult of Mithra in Rome is reported.² The two most ancient Roman inscriptions pertaining to the cult of Mithra, which are, generally speaking, the most ancient Mithraic monuments known upto date, are of the epoch of Trajan or a little earlier: one is dedicated by a freed man (CIL. 6. 732=IG XIV. 996) and the other by a slave (CIL. 6. 718).³ The progress was most rapid, and was promoted also by the growing imperial favour. In 1243 Mœsia, Dacia, Pannonia, Germania, Britannia, i.e. in the northern provinces, where a strong appointment of exotic troops permanently dwelt. Mithraism is strongly represented. It is less represented in Africa, Dalmatia and Gallia, still less in Hispania, its introduction into these provinces having been principally effected by way of the commercial relations with the Orient.⁴

1 Ch. Avezou, Ch. Picard, *Bas-relief mithriaque découvert à Patras*, *Revue de l'hist. des relig.*, 64 (1911), 179 seq., Pireus: inscription Cumont II, 469; mithræum and inscription of the time of Septimius Severus at Andros: T. Sauciuc, *Ein Denkmal des Mithraskultes auf Andros*, *Röm. Mittheil.* 25. 1910, 263.

2 Cf. the allusion to a representation of Mithra tauroctonos (p. 251) in *Stat. Theb.* 1, 719 (about 80 A.D.).

3 Cumont I, 245. II, 105. Cf. Hülsen, *Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1899, 683.

—4 Cumont I, 241 seq.; *Le religioni orientali nel paganesimo romano* 139-164; Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, 1 (*Les provinces latines*), 2 (*Les cultes orientaux*), Paris 1911, 121-177; Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*², 368 seq.; Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griech.-röm. Heidentums*, Heidelberg 1920, 15, 29. Other recent discoveries and works: L. Campi *Il culto di Mitra nella*

The Mithraic religion was largely protected by the Antonini, especially by Commodus, who frequented the mysteries (Lamprid. *Comm.* 9). The progress continued upto the middle of the third century. After a period of stasis, there was a period of renewal about the end of the third century (Aurelian) and in the beginning of the fourth (Diocletian), when Mithraism, which as such did never form a part of the religion of the state, was to a certain extent identified with the religion of the Sun, that having become the official religion of the Roman state. At Carnuntum on the Danube, an ancient Mithraic centre, Diocletian with other *Jovii et Herculii religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares* restored and dedicated a sanctuary *D(eo) S(oli) i(n)victo M(ithrae) fautori imperii sui* (C L 3. 4413). Then Mithraism begins to decay in the provinces (CIL. 6. 507, a. 313). There was a renewal, especially in Rome, in the time of Julian (CIL. 6. 749 seq.: a. 357), who was initiated into the mysteries. It lasted till the last decades of the fourth century (CIL. 6. 500 seq.). Thereupon (Gratianus and Theodosius) began the persecutions against the worshippers of Mithra and the destruction of the mithraea. Mithraism persisted only sporadically in some provincial corners (Val di Non) as late as the fifth century.

In the Roman world itself, including the most peripheric regions of the empire, Mithraism especially maintained its exotic character. In its form it was hellenised, and

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Naunia, Archivio Trentino 24. 1909, 107; F. Haverfield, *On a Mithraic relief found in London*, Archæologia 1906; P. Paris, *Restes du culte de Mithra en Espagne*, Rev. Archéol. 24 (1914), 1 seq.; R. Förster, *Das Mithra-Heiligtum von Königshofen bei Strassburg*, 1915 (Cf. Cumont, Rev. des études anciennes 1918, 117); Notizie degli scavi 1915, 324; 1918, 3; G. Baserga, *Scavi ad Angera: il culto mitriaco*, Como 1919; Kazarow, *Ein Mitrasdenkmal aus Makedonien*, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 1921, 236.

latinised respectively, through the necessity of adapting itself to the Graeco-Roman surrounding. Here and there in the West some foreign element were also incorporated (e.g. the cult of the *Matronae*, *Nutrices*, *Deae Quadrubiae*)¹ but in substance it remained as it was, i.e. as it had definitely constituted itself in Anatolia, viz. an oriental, religion having an Iranian (Persian) basis with a *plus* of Semitic (Babylonian) elements and with a mystic and initiatic character. Only through this remote and complex pre-history we are able to understand Mithraism as it appears in late historic times. On the other hand the Mithraic documents of the imperial Roman period are for us the only documents, which indirectly inform us about those oldest beliefs.

The figured types of the divinities represented on the Mithraic monuments, above all Mithra himself (p. 240), are Greek, i.e. created by the Greek art, although they were thereupon conventionalised and vulgarised through the Graeco-Roman world in general. The names of the divinities mentioned in the inscriptions are prevaillingly Latin. They are like two different forms of language, a figured and a spoken one, which are parallel and equivalent, both being applied to the rendering of the Mithraic divinities into western forms according to the tendencies and principles of the dominating syncretism. Still it cannot be asserted that this westernisation of Mithraism, which is for the most part only formal, was a perfect one. Besides some exotic (Iranian?) incomprehensible and hitherto unexplained terms (*nama* CIL. 6. 731, *nama sebesio* CIL. 6. 719, *nama cunctis* CIL. 14. 3567), Mithra himself, the central figure of the religion, who had been already p. 245 assimilated to Apollo, Helios, Hermes (p. 238) preserved in the West his Iranian name, perhaps on account of the

1 Cumont I, 156; Toutain, *op. cit.* 123.

difficulty of choosing between various possible identifications, (thus a sign of the advertised essential and not confoundible individuality of the god). Also the names of the two subordinate and co-essential figures of *Cautes* and *Cautopates* seem to be of exotic rather than of Greek or Latin origin.¹ (These are the two young torch-bearers—with one or two torches—who stand constantly on each side of Mithra respectively, wearing the same conventional oriental costume as the god himself. They are essentially representatives of Mithra himself in an initial (*Cautes* with the torch held on high) and in a final (*Cautopates* with the torch held down) moment of his solar career, either diurnal or annual. Iranian is the term *Nabarzes*, *Navarzes* “the strong one, the courageous one” (or “the renovator”?)¹, which is attributed to Mithra on Latin inscriptions (CIL. 6. 742; 3, 3481, 7938) side by side with the usual epithet “*invictus*” (ἀνίκητος). Further, Iranian is the name of the god *Areimanius* (*deo Areimanio* CIL. 6. 47; 3. 3414 seq.), i.e., *Angra mainyu*, the “evil spirit” of the *Avesta* (p. 227): he is the principle of evil, the anti-god, the adversary of *Spenta Mainyu* (*Yasna* 30, 3 seq.) according to Zoroastrianism, who already in Persia was identified, through an obvious assimilation, with the god of hell (Herod. 7, 114) of the popular religion, corresponding to the Greek *Hades* (cf. Theopomp. fr. 72 FHG. 1 p. 289), and as such passed afterwards together with Mithra into the West, where he was identified with Pluto (mithræum of Osterburken) and received dedications and sacrifices (especially of noxious animals: wolves, Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 46).

As regards Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of the Zoroastrian as well as of the popular Persian religion (p. 221), whose name had been first known to Hellenism

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1 Cf. L. H. Gray, *Le Muséon* 1915, 189.

in the transliterated form *Oromasdes*, *Oromazes* (p. 238),¹ he received in the western Mithraism, together with the figured type of Zeus, the name of *Jupiter*. He was, however, named otherwise *Caelus: optimus maximus Caelus Aeternus Jupiter* (CIL. 6. 81 seq.; cf. *Jovi optimo maximo caelestino* CIL. 6. 404), being symbolically represented in the form of a starry globe surmounted by an eagle holding the thunderbolt (with the inscription *Celum* underneath: on the stela of Heddernheim),² an allusion, as it seems, to the original heavenly nature of the supreme god of the Persians, who, as Herodotus says (1, 131), was the vault of heaven itself, according to the primitive naturalistic conception, opposed to the anthropomorphism of the Greeks. It is extremely interesting to find that a trace of this original conception of the divinity was preserved in Mithraism notwithstanding all the anthropomorphic suggestions of the western spirit depending on the tradition of the Graeco-Roman art.

Correspondingly also the god of the earth (Av. *Ārmatay*), that of fire (*Ātar*), that of water (*Apām napāt*) and that of air (*Vayu*, *Vāta*), who together with the Sun (Av. *Hvaraxshaēta*) and with the Moon (*Māh*) formed part of the Iranian polytheism (Herod. 1, 131), are of course found on the Mithraic monuments under the well-known types and names of Juno³ (*regina* CIL. 6. 81 seq., 8. 4578), Vulcanus (mithraeum of Sarrebourg), Neptunus, the Winds (stela of Carnuntum), together with the Sun and the Moon (p. 249). But beside Neptunus we have its more naturalis-

1 Cf. "Plat." *Alcib. prim.* 122 a; Aristot. fr. 6 Rose; Eudem. fr. 117; Plut., *de Is. et Osir.* 46.

2 Cumont II, fig. 289. The same idea expressed through the figure of Atlas: Cumont I, 90.

3 According to the primitive conception of the earth being the consort of the heaven: cf. Plut. *Artax.*, 23. Also *Tellus* is represented: Cumont I, 98.

tic parallel *Oceanus* (stela of Heddernheim), and beside the mythological figures of the elements their symbolic representations in the form of a serpent (earth), a krater (water), and the like.¹ The same system of double representations, mythological according to the types of the corresponding planetary divinities, and symbolic in the form of seven stars, or seven knives, or seven trees, or seven altars, or seven groups of knife+altar+Phrygian cap+tree, is applied also to the planets, which are, as we know (p. 231), an element of Babylonian origin.² The "infinite Time" (*Zrvan akarana*), another element of Babylonian origin (p. 232), was rendered in the West, as it seems, into *Saturnus*, Saturn being the equivalent of *Kronos*, who was identified with *Chronos* "Time": as the mythological repertorium of the Graeco-Roman art did not furnish any type for this god, Mithraism had recourse especially to a monstrous figuration (bearing some reminiscence of the ancient Assyrian art), *i.e.* the characteristic type of the winged leontocephalic monster, with the body surrounded by the rings of a serpent, and holding one or two keys in his hand. These keys are conceived as the keys of heaven, this being imagined, according to the Babylonian

1 Porphyr. *de antro nymph.* 18 παρὰ τῷ Μίδρα δ κρατὴρ ἀντὶ τῆς πηγῆς τέτακται. Less perspicuous is the representation of the air by means of a bird and of the fire by means of a lion.

2 Planets, constellations, and the four elements formed in Babylon the system of the στοιχεῖα. In orthodox and rigorously dualistic Parsism the planets are the creatures of Ahriman and adversaries of the constellations, these being the creatures of Ormazd. On the contrary in Mithraism both the planets and the constellations were worshipped. According to F. Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, Cambridge 1915, II, 251 seq. (cf. *The lion-headed god of the Mithraic mysteries*, Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology, 1912, 125 seq.), the leontocephalic monster would represent Ahriman rather than Zrvan.

conception, as a vault traversed by two gates, one oriented to the east and the other to the west.

The eminently astral character of the Babylonian religion influenced, as we have seen (p. 231), also the figure of Mithra causing his assimilation with the Babylonian god of the Sun *Shamash*. A reflex of such an assimilation is to be found in western Mithraism in the constant formula of dedication: *deo Soli invicto Mithrae*. But as in general Mithraism under the incrustation of astrological and theological elements (which afterwards have been elaborated also in a speculative sense, especially from a stoical standpoint), possessed its own patrimony of ideas, its most intimate and most reserved doctrine, so particularly Mithra, in spite of his, so to say, exoteric and public assimilation with the Sun, was never, in the genuine form of Mithraism, completely identified with the Sun (cf. *Sol socius* CIL. 5. 5082; 3. 3384; 7. 1039). The Sun is represented on the Mithraic monuments as attending the great act of Mithra, *i.e.* the slaughter of the bull by Mithra (p. 249). By the presence of the Sun the extraordinary, transcendent, and cosmic character of this enterprise is revealed. It was not without reason that the great marble slab, on which the tauroctonia was represented occupied the place of honour in Mithraic sanctuaries, a place corresponding to that where in Greek and Roman temples the simulacrum of the worshipped divinity was situated. But neither the picture of Mithra tauroctonos is a sacred simulacrum, nor the Mithraic sanctuary a temple in the proper sense of the word. Here also the spirit of the ancient Persian religion is reflected, which had got no temples (Herod. 1. 131), precisely because it had not got images of the gods, and it had not got images of the gods, because it did not conceive the divinity in an anthropomorphic form (p. 232).¹

1 Cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione nella Grecia antica*, 49 seq.

The Mithraic sanctuaries are designated as *ἀντρον*, *spelaeum*, *specus*, *spelunca*, (and only by way of extension as *templum*, *aedes*). Thus they must have been originally grottos. The same type was afterwards produced artificially, either by accommodating natural spots or pre-existing constructions, or by constructing *ex novo* a subterranean or semisubterranean crypt, which was reached by descending a staircase. It was capacious, with some exceptions,¹ for about hundred persons at the maximum. It is this lack of room that made the construction of more than one mithræum necessary, where the community was very numerous. At its further end facing the entrance, in a sort of a niche (often rounded in the form of an apse), at the point where the glances of the devotees kneeling on two lateral benches conveyed, stood the figure of Mithra tauroctonos represented in relief on a marble slab, sometimes turning on itself, and in such a case sculptured also on the other side.² p. 249

This niche, as a sort of *sancta sanctorum*, and the whole crypt was in a certain sense a world in itself, a universe in miniature: when there assembled the faithful ones felt themselves transported in a supermundane sphere. The vault of the crypt pierced, as in the case of the mithræum of St. Clement in Rome by openings, from where the divine light descended, was the vault of heaven itself. The most holy symbols arranged about on the walls and the end, the Sun and the Moon, attending the exploits of Mithra (the Sun on his left and the Moon on his right), the planets and the signs of the zodiac, generally gathered along the upper border of the central slab, the planetary

1 Cumont I, 53 seq.

2 Mithræum of Heddernheim (Cumont II, pl. 5, 6); relief from Tuscan in Val di Non (Archivio Trentino, 24. 1909, pl. 11, fig. 2, 3); cf. the relief of Konjiza in Bosnia (Cumont I, fig. 10): v. a n. 73.

stations indicated on the floor (as in the mithræum of Ostia¹), all the figurations (*portentosa simulacra*: Hieronym. *epist.* 107 *ad Laetam*) running on the walls, made the holy place a sort of microcosm in which the whole universe was abridged.

A series of scenes represented in relief framed often in whole or in part the great central scene of the *tauroctonia*. Far from being unconnected with each other, they joined as successive scenes of a continuous narrative, like the graphic illustration of a text, perhaps of some of those texts which during the development of a liturgical action were recited according to the ancient Persian custom, as evidenced by Herodotus (1. 131), texts which must have been of a mythical character since Herodotus qualifies them as "theogonies" (ἐπαιίδει θεογονίην). Divine figures, scenes of the myth, especially of the cosmogonic myth, are in fact represented by these scenes: episodes of the ancient Iranian legends about the origin of the world, episodes of the myth of Mithra. We have not got other notices of these myths than those furnished by the sacred books of Parsism (p. 227), these later compositions, like the *Bundahish*, drawing, however, their informations from older scriptures. The Mithraic texts are lost, lost are also the translations, which certainly once existed of them, in Greek (and afterwards probably in Latin). An only verse from a Mithraic hymn in Greek has been transmitted to us by Firmicus Maternus (*de err. prof. relig.* 5) which says: μύστα βοοκλονίης, συνλέξε πατρός ἀγανσοῦ² (Ziegler) "O initiated one in the mystery of the theft of the bull, colleague of an illustrious father".

1 Cumont II, fig. 77; cf. Porphy. *de antro nymph.* 5 seq.

2 Cumont I, 159 seq.; cf. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*², 53, 218.

Now this very verse receives a graphic illustration from an episode of the figured legend of Mithra, represented in various mithræa. It depicts Mithra exactly in the act of dragging a bull furtively, as it were, by its hind legs: a motive, which seems to have originated from the primitive Indo-European myth, since he is also met with in the Latin myth of *Cacus* as well as in the Greek myth of *Herakles*.¹ This exploit of Mithra was only an episode of his complex legend,² which began with the miraculous birth of the god from a rock (*petrae genetrici* CIL. 3. 4424, 8679),³ then related the 'miracle of water, made to flow from the rock by an arrow's shot. (this being perhaps an allusion to the heavenly rain-waters, fertilising the earth),⁴ then included, as it seems, another particularly painful and hard exploit designated as *transitus* "a crossing" (on the inscriptions of Pettau: *invicto Mithrae et p. 251 transitu dei*),⁵ and finally culminated in the exploit concerning the bull.

An important moment of that exploit was the *taurophoria*, the furtive dragging of the bull after its capture. But the capital moment of the whole legend, that in which all other episodes converged, was the final *tauroctonia*⁶;

1 Cf. Commodian. *instruct.* 1. 13 v. 9 *vertebatque boves alienos semper in antris Sicut et Cacus Vulcani filius ille.*

2 About the legend of Mithra: Toutain, *La légende de Mithra*, *Revue de l'hist. des relig.* 45 (1902), 141 seq.

3 Cf. the formula θεός ἐκ πέτρας Firm. Mat. *de err. pr. rel.* 20. A small stela of conic form—a conventional representation of a rock—formed part of the *paraphernalia* of the Mithraic sanctuaries: Cumont I, 159 seq.

4 A natural source, or an artificial aqueduct or otherwise a basin of water constantly placed in proximity of or inside the mithræa: Cumont I, 55 n. 3; cf. 165.

5 *Jahreshefte d. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.*, 2. 1899, Beibl. 96 and 97.

6 Only the two scenes of the *taurophoria* and the *tauroctonia* are represented—almost as a compendium and abbreviation of the whole cycle—on the cup of Lanuvium: Cumont II, fig. 80.

to it the place of honour was reserved in all mithræa; it was reproduced in hundreds of copies, even vulgar and coarse in their execution, being intended for the private use and adoration of the single devotees, who saw in them the supreme truths of the religion represented. The scene had as a background a grotto, because the slaughter of the bull took place exactly within the grotto, where Mithra had dragged it. That it could not be an ordinary bull, but an exceptional being, is indicated by the fact that generally his tail, erected almost in a last convulsive effort, ends in a bundle of ears of corn: in a monument of the epoch of Trajan, one of the oldest known (Cumont II, fig. 59; cf. p. 483), the ears come up from the blood of the bull, which flows from the mortal wound inflicted by the god. It is, as it was understood by Anquetil du Perron as early as in the eighteenth century, the vegetal life, compendiated so to say in the corn, which originates from the death of the bull. The bull slain by Mithra is the cosmic bull, the primigenous bull created by Ahura Mazda, which according to the ancient Iranian belief (p. 227) while dying generated from its body the whole vegetable world and especially the corn from its spinal-marrow.

This and other kindred cosmogonic and anthropogonic beliefs are evidenced in Parsism (*Yasna* 26, 10; cf. *Yasht* p. 252 13, 86) especially in the later theological literature of Parsism written in *Pehlevi* (*Bundahish*), e.g. the belief that from the primitive bull, and precisely from his sperma, which was carried to the Moon and purified there, all species of animals were born, further the parallel belief that, from the primigenous man *Gaya* or *Gayomart*, himself a creature of Ahura Mazda (p. 227), the human genus was born, to the effect that two plants have been produced from two drops of his sperm, which have

thereupon developed themselves in the human form becoming the first human pair *Mashya* and *Mashyoi*. But Parsism itself, apart from the chronology of its scriptures, cannot represent the genuine and primitive Iranian belief on account of its very spirit, which is that of the religion as resulting from the reform of Zarathushtra. The rigorously dualistic spirit of Zoroastrianism based on the cosmic strife between Ohrmazd and Ahriman is responsible for the fact that in Parsism the primigenous bull was the victim of Ahriman. For a religion which prohibited the slaughter of cattle (p. 224) nothing was more natural than to attribute the death of the first bull to the principle of evil, impersonated in Ahriman. But primitively the killing of a bull or in general of an ox was a solemn sacrifice, a holy act of the Iranian religion. This much is true that as such it maintained itself among the Persians, and precisely in connection with the cult of Mithra (p. 223-224). Correspondingly in the primitive myth in which that bloody rite was reflected the primigenous bull, the prototype and the anticipation of all cattle sacrificed, was not slain by Ahriman, but by Mithra himself, who through that act, which far from being unseemly, was quite in conformity with the dignity of a god, came to assume p. 253 indirectly the functions of a creator, being the author of that death from which the life was born,¹ as precisely from the ritual sacrifice of the bull a life was generated, by which the fertility of the fields and the fecundity of the whole nature was increased. Thus that bundle of the ears of corn, which, being a strange ornament indeed for a bull-tail, shall have inspired pious meditations to the devotees of Mithra dispersed along the banks of the Danube,

i Εἰκόνα φέροντος τοῦ στηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου ὃν ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημιούργησε Porphy. *de antro nymph.* 5 ; cf. 24 : ὥς καὶ ὁ ταῦρος δημιουργὸς ὢν (ὁ Μίθρας) καὶ γενέσεως δεσπότης.

of the Rhine and of the Thames as well, receives its explanation as to its origin and its very being, as the survivance of an agrarian rite, which had been celebrated by agriculturists and shepherds some thousands of years ago on the mountains of Iran. By agrarian origins of Mithraism the animals also which participate in various ways in the great fact of the tauroctonia on the Mithraic reliefs will perhaps be explained: *i.e.* the scorpion which grips and bites the testicles of the bull in the vain intention of impeding the effusion of the generating liquid; the ant, which is sometimes, though much more seldom, associated with the scorpion (*e.g.* in the relief of Villa Albani: Cumont II. fig. 45); the serpent, which frequently however does not seem to participate in the action; and the dog, which jumps up in order, as it were, to lick up the blood flowing from the wound. All this zoology, differently from that which in the sculptures of the Hellenistic age served simply to accentuate, according to the taste of the epoch, the picturesque aspect of the background, has on the Mithraic monuments a special value and signification. In Zoroastrianism the dog being the creature of Ahura

P. 254 Mazda appertains to the good order, whereas the scorpion, the ant, and the serpent appertain to the wicked order as creatures of Ahriman (*Vendidad* 14. 5; *Bundahish* 3. 15). Once again it is to be considered whether Zoroastrianism has not applied here also the scheme of its moralistic dualism¹ to some categories which already existed in traditional belief and custom (κρείνοντες μύθημάς τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ περαινά Herod. 1. 140; cf. Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 46), having been originated in a primitive belief, in a primitive society and in a primitive economy,

1 As for the application of the Persian dualistic system to the terminology and lexicon, cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra*, 144 n. 15.

In which agriculture had the maximum value, and consequently useful animals, like the dog, were considered good, and animals noxious to the agricultural life and to the prosperity of the harvest, like the reptiles, ants, and scorpions, were considered wicked.

There is then at the root of Mithraism a nucleus of agrarian religiosity, of that religiosity from which the mysteries were originated (this thesis is developed throughout the present work "I Misteri"). If on the contrary in Mithraic mysteries the titular deity is a god of heaven, *i.e.* Mithra (p. 220), we are now able to explain by which historic process this fact was produced.

In the mithræum of Heddernheim, the first mithræum discovered in 1826, the great Mithraic slab, being one of the very few that are sculptured on both sides (p. 249), bears on the *verso* a further scene alluding to the same great fact, *i.e.* the death of the bull, with all its consequences, which is represented on the *recto* (Cumont II, pl. VIII): various divine figures (Mithra with a drinking horn in hand; two youths, cf. *Cautes* and *Cautopates*: p. 245, p. 255 with the tunic full of fruits) one of whom offers Mithra a bunch of grapes, stand around the corpse of the bull lying on the ground. On the Mithraic relief of Sarrebourg Bacchus is represented among other divine figures¹ (Cumont II, pl. IX). Bacchus is to be regarded here as an equivalent or a substitute of the Iranian god *Haoma*, who was a personification and deification of the sacred intoxicating drink, pressed from the homonymous plant (Vedic *Soma*: p. 225): this drink, which in Cappadocia was substituted, it seems, by another of analogous effect (this being extracted perhaps from the herb *moly*),² must have had in the West wine as its natural substitute. The vine itself, according

¹ Cumont I, p. 146 seq.

² Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 46: cf. Cumont II, 33 seq., 1, 24.

to the Iranian tradition preserved in Zoroastrianism, had been originated like all other plants from the body of the primigenous bull, precisely from its blood (*Bundahish* 14. 1). But also here what stands behind Zoroastrianism is the primitive Iranian religion, in which *Haoma* or some other intoxicating drink might have been enjoyed (p. 225) precisely on the occasion of those agrarian rites, which culminated in the slaughter of the bull. Those rites might have got a certain orgiastic character, and might have given room for experiences of a rudimentary mysticism, which when remembered were fit to create in the minds of those participating in them, the idea of a perennial beatitude, naturally projected in the plain of a future life and of an ultramundane world.

This primitive Iranian eschatology was oriented towards heaven (p. 226), just as in the belief of other peoples heaven, or at any rate a place different from hell (*e.g.* among the Greeks the "island of the blessed ones" situated to the end of the earth towards the west) received in an ultramundane existence the brave, or the pious, or the elected ones, or in general those who, according to a primitive mentality, were at any rate the best ones. In the primitive myth which projected the ritual sacrifice of the bull at the beginning (afterwards also at the end—pp. 227-228) of the world, the primigenous bull from whom the animal as well as the vegetable life was originated, this holy, generous and precious victim, came to life again in as much as its soul lived in heaven. Thus its destiny assumed a prototypic and ideal value for all those who participated on earth in the bloody sacrifice and in intoxicating libations, which accompanied it, thus getting an elevation of spirit and a hope of a similar destiny.

A tradition is preserved also in Zoroastrianism of the soul of the bull, ascending after its death through the

celestial regions upto the sphere of the Sun and obtaining from Ahura Mazda the promise of the sending of Zarathushtra into the world (*Bundahish* 4. 2). Already in the *Gathas* *Geush urvan* "the soul of the bull", and *Geush tashan* "the fashioner of the bull" appear as (masculine) divine beings, who, preoccupied with the lot of the bovine species harassed by the unbelievers, are finally appeased by the promise that Ahura Mazda will send Zarathushtra into the world, who will prohibit bloody sacrifices (*Yasna* 29. 1. 2). Here as in many other cases Zoroastrianism does not only adopt, through assimilating them to its own spirit, the elements of a primitive eschatology, but having previously abolished the libations of *Haoma*, finally it adopted them and celebrated *Haoma* itself in terms, through which its original eschatological value is reflected: e.g. *Haoma* having the power "to prepare the way for the soul" (*Yasna* 9. 13), with reference to the long journey across the heavens (*Yasna* 9. 19), *Haoma* having the virtue of "keeping death apart," and of conferring P. 257 immortality (*Yasna* 9); the (white) *Haoma*, which when mixed with the fat of the *Hadhayosh* bull, immolated by *Saoshyant* "the Savior" at the end of times, will render the bodies of the resurrected just men immortal: *Bundahish* 30. 5.

In a systematic dualistic religion like Zoroastrianism the eschatological elements also were more clearly polarised according to the two cardinal categories of the good and of the evil, whereby the old celestial eschatology was naturally assigned to the former as well as the chthonic one to the latter. Likewise, as Zoroastrianism was a founded religion, its whole eschatology and soteriology also was dominated by the figure of its founder. Zarathushtra was the savior of humanity, and *Saoshyant* himself "the Savior," who will come at the end of times to crown the work of

salvation, will be a future son of Zarathushtra; he will be born of a virgin who will take a bath in a lake, where the sperm of Zarathushtra is preserved. In the traditional and popular Persian religion, on the contrary, the sacrifice of the bull had as a rite an actual and immediate value for the increase of life of nature, as well as in mythological projection it assumed a prototypic value for the best ultramundane destiny of beings, who through the death of the bull had been called to life (ψυχὰὶ δ' εἰς γένεσιν ἰοῦσαν βουγενεῖς Porphy. *de antro nymph.* 18). Thus when Mithra, the ancient sky-god, either as a liberal giver of rain-waters (on which the fertility of the fields depended),¹ or simply as the lord of those celestial regions, which the souls had to traverse when going up from the earth to the empyreum,

p. 258 or by some other reason unknown to us, came to be associated in the cult with that agrarian sacrifice, which was destined to fertilise the earth, and with those intoxicating ritual libations which were able to suggest the experience of a celestial felicity, and thence correspondingly in the myth—was he not perhaps the first man who in the primitive myth sacrificed the first bull? and has not Mithra taken precisely the place of the first man or of other divine being?—he figured precisely as the killer of the bull and as the author of such a vivifying death. Then, while indirectly becoming, by way of this association, a sort of a creator and of a demiurge (p. 253), indirectly also he came to be invested with a soteriological function, thus starting towards his transformation into a savior of humanity, such as Zarathushtra was in the Zoroastrian religion.

This is in fact a singular and characteristic feature of the Iranian religious history, that not one but two religions of salvation developed themselves out of the old and common ground of the primitive traditional religion, *viz.* Zoroas-

1 Toutain, *Revue de l'hist. des relig.* 45 (1902), 152.

trianism and Mithraism. They are two religions of a quite different spirit indeed : the former claims its origin from a historical founder, the latter is on the contrary the development of the national Persian religion; the former represents the reform, the latter the tradition; in the former the savior is a historical personage (in spite of his deification and the eventually mythical origin of his name), in the latter he is a god; further, a conspicuous sign of this essential diversity is precisely the fact that in the former the killing of the bull is the work of the most execrable demon, in the latter it is the work of the most venerated god. Both were, as said above, religions of salvation, the former however was born as such through the work of its founder, the latter on the contrary became such through a slow process whose achievement was helped by the co-operation of external favourable circumstances. It was in fact especially at the epoch of the foreign domination and the consequent "diaspora" (p. 233), that the Persian religion, uprooted from its original soil and from the national surroundings, developed in the greatest degree the aspects of the individual and interior religiosity, and deepening its eschatological hopes as well as its soteriological aspirations, underwent a process of interiorisation, through which, and through ethnical isolation in a foreign land, it came to be transformed into a mystery. Such was Mithraism, i.e. a mystery of Mithra, where the true mystical elements, sprang up from that primitive agrarian religiosity, which is to be found at the basis of all the mysteric religions; and it was only by way of his association with these elements that Mithra became the titular god of the Persian mysteries. p. 259

A diversity which the Mithraic mysteries show in comparison with other mysteries corresponds to its special history sketched above. In the mysteries of Mithra as

well as in those of Demeter and of Dionysos, of Sabazios, of Attis, of Osiris, and of Adonis, the essential value, the intimate and deep human value, apart from all speculative, and more or less exotic superstructure, was the word of salvation, the vivifying promise, the eschatological hope of a second blessed life, which they were able to say to the devotees. Mithra also became in Mithraism the savior of the human species (*Mithra salutaris* CIL. 14. 3568): being in a special sense intermediate between heaven and earth (p. 260 $\mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 46), he became also in a religious sense the mediator between humanity and deity; being subordinated to the supreme god (also in Zoroastrianism, as a *yazata* (p. 223) and a minister of the divine will (even the killing of the bull in the Mithraic scenes was performed by him, as it seems, in consequence of a message from heaven transmitted to him by the raven: Cumont I, 192), he was the intercessor, the succourer of men in life ($\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\varepsilon\pi\eta\rho\acute{o}\tau\omega$ inser. Cumont II, p. 469, n. 223 a; *numini presentì* CIL. 14. 3567), as well as the guide of the souls in their upward voyage after death (cf. $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu\alpha$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ Julian. *Caes.* 336 c).

But in other mysteries salvation is conceived as a new life which commences, as a death and a rebirth, a rebirth which is obtained by means of the assimilation of the man to be initiated with the god, who was dead and who is reborn. This assimilation is effectuated by means of a series of rites (forming the initiation), which are intended to reproduce on the person to be initiated exactly the same vicissitudes through which the god had passed. It is, in substance, the periodic change of vegetation, with its disappearances and its returns, which is reflected in the myth of the god, and thence in the rites applied to the man, the very reason being that the god is a divinity of vegetation, and agriculture is at the very basis of the mysteries.

But Mithra is not a god of vegetation ; he does not appertain to the earth, but to the heaven. As such he does not die and is not reborn. If Mithra also *evokes an idea of resurrection* (*imaginem resurrectionis inducit* : Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40), if in the Mithraic mysteries also there was some rite simulating a death (otherwise Emperor Commodus could not have killed some one really: *sacra mithriaca homicidio vero polluit* Lamprid. *Commodus* 9) and necessarily a resurrection, these were no reflexes of the myth of Mithra, but they are on the contrary elements pertaining to the primitive agrarian religiosity, inherited by Mithra as the titular god of the mysteries. It was not the assimilation of the person to be initiated with the god, his union with Mithra that these rites aimed to effectuate. In Mithraism the worshippers and devotees did not assume the names of the god as in other mysteries (*Saboi* and *Sabai*, *Attis*, *Osiris*). Mithra preserved always his transcendent position before man. His working as savior consisted above all in aiding and assisting man in his aspirations towards the hereafter and in guiding at last the soul to the celestial abodes. Not the assimilation with the god, but the protection of the god, his friendship and benevolence to the effect of salvation, this was the hope cultivated in the mysteries; the friendship of the god received its visible mark in the pressing of the hand between Mithra and the devotee, as already represented (Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*³ p. 15, f. 1) in the monument (p. 238) of Antiochos of Commagene and afterwards frequently reproduced in the figurations of European mithraea (*e.g.* on the stela of Virunum: Cumont II, f. 213). p. 261

Now we understand the very significance of those astral and planetary symbols, which were scattered on the walls of the crypts and even on the floor, so that the crypt itself appeared nearly to be a symbolic representation of the

whole universe (p. 249). They formed the cosmic background, on which the greatest event of the Mithraic initiation, and above all the triumphal ascent of the soul across the heavens and the interstellar spaces, naturally came to be projected. Not only the Sun, the Moon and the planets were depicted here and there, but also a symbolic staircase p. 262 (σύμβολον) with eight gates (κλίμαξ ἑπτάπυλος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ πύλῃ ὁγδόῃ Cels. ap. Origin., *contr. Cels.* 6. 22), formed part, as it seems, of the sacred decoration.¹ These are certainly the gates of the seven planetary spheres (p. 231) with that of the superposed empyreum, through which the soul had to pass on her ultramundane journey, and which were to be opened only by virtue of certain formulæ known, as it seems, only by the initiated ones.² Seven were also the grades of the initiatic career, this being, so to say, an anticipation during the life of the journey of the soul across the seven spheres after death.³

Corax, cryphius, miles, leo, perses, heliodromus and *pater* are the names of the seven grades of the initiated, transmitted by St. Hieronymus (epist. 107 *ad Laetam*) and evidenced by the inscriptions.⁴ They are a document of the Greek terminology which, once adopted in Mithraism (p. 240), maintained itself also in the Latin world. *Corax* is Greek (*tradidit hierocoracica* CIL. 6. 751 b; *coracina sacra*, "Ambros" in *ep. ad. Rom.* v. 22) and means

1 *Yast.* 10, 61. Cf. Cumont I, 118 n. 1; Toutain, *l. cit.*

2 Arnob. *adv. nat.* 2. 62 *magi spondent commendaticias habere se praeces quibus emollitae nescio quae potestates vias faciles praebent ad caelum contententibus subvolare*; cf. 2. 13 (Cumont I, 39 n. 7).

3 Cf. G. Lafaye, *L'initiation mithriaque*, Conférences au Musée Guimet, vol. 18 (1906).

4 Cumont II, 535. Only the inscriptions (*ostenderunt cryfios* CIL 6. 751 a; *tradiderunt chryfios* (sic) CIL 6. 753) give the exact name of the second grade, which in the text of Hieronymus (*nymphus*, whence the conjecture *gryphus*) is incorrectly written.

"raven" (p. 260). *Cryphius* is Greek and means "occult", the term containing perhaps an allusion to some rite in which the initiated one of the second grade, previously concealed, at a given moment was shown, and so to say, revealed (*ostenderunt cryphios* CIL. 6. 751 a). *Heliodromus* (*tradiderunt [h]eliaca* CIL. 6. 750) is Greek and bears an allusion to the course of the Sun. *Miles* is Latin (CIL. 13. 7570 d, seq.)¹ and refers not so much to a discipline of the mysteries in general considered as a militant service (p. 179), as to the military character of Mithraism itself as the religion of the warlike and invincible (p. 245) god, who was worshipped specially by soldiers (p. 243). As regards the other three grades whose names are so much Greek as p. 263 Latin, that of *leo*, which is most frequently mentioned in inscriptions (*tradiderunt leontica* CIL. 6, 749, 752 seq.),² was perhaps the grade, which introduced the candidate into the superior order of the initiatic hierarchy of the mysteries, whereas the first three grades constituted, it seems, a sort of an inferior initiation (ὀπηγοῦντες "servants", as opposed to μετέχοντες "participating ones": Porphyr. *de abst.* 4. 16). The name *perses* (*tradiderunt persica* CIL. 6. 750; πέσσης Porphyr. *de antro nymph.* 15) was a token of the exotic origin of the Mithraic cult, and of its national character, which, far from being lost during the diaspora, was rather accentuated through isolation, so that, if an alien person was once admitted in the mysteries, he assumed automatically the Persian nationality (p. 237). *Pater* or *pater sacrorum* (*tradiderunt patrica* CIL. 6. 751 a) was the title of those initiated into the highest grade (*patres* CIL. 5. 805), whose chief was

1 Cf. the inscription *Revue de l'hist. des relig.* 64. 1911, 179 seq. and Tertull. *de corona* 15. (W. S. P. Adams, *The problem of the Mithraic grades*, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 2. 1912, 52; Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*, 240).

2 τὰ λεονικά Porphyr. *de antro nymph.* 15; *de abst.* 4. 16.

called *pater patrum* (CIL. 6. 749 seq.)¹ or *pater patratus* (CIL. 5. 5795). To this corresponded the name of *fratres* (CIL. 6. 727; 3. 3415), which the initiated ones (of the same grade?) gave themselves in their mutual relations, whereas the generic and common term was that of *sacrafi* (CIL. 6. 730, 737, 742; cf. *con[se]cranei* CIL. 7. 1039), i.e. "the sworn ones", in relation to the military character of the Mithraic institutions which exacted from the initiated ones (like an army, from the recruits) also an oath, e.g. of not revealing things of the mysteries. Thus the initiation came to be a *sacramentum*, i.e. an "oath" (cf. Tertull. *de corona* 15).

The constitution of this hierarchy might have already
 p. 264 been definitive in Anatolia, before Mithraism began to be diffused in the West (p. 241). Possibly the fixing of the grades to the number of seven was indirectly owing to the Babylonian influence (p. 230 seq.). But although the place and the precise time, in which this Mithraic hierarchy was formed is unknown, there is a nucleus, so to say, which in every probability went up to the most ancient phases of the Iranian religion and precisely to those agrarian rites, to which also the first nucleus of the Mithraic doctrine is to be traced (p. 235). Certain rites of the first admission (*acceptio*) and others with which the successive grades were conferred (*traditio*), rites which early assumed and, particularly in the West, maintained themselves as proofs destined to test the courage and intrepidity of the candidate,² probably had from the beginning a sacred

1 Also a *pater leonum* CIL 11, 5737 and a *patrem patratum leonem* CIL 2. 2795. *Magistri* existed, as it seems, for every grade (CIL 6, 47, 717, 734, 1675).

2 Lamprid. *Commod.* 9. 6 *cum illic aliquid ad speciem timoris vel dici vel fingi soleat*; cf. the passage of Nonnos the mythology quoted by Cumont II, 27 b. The "tortures" and the "pains", numerous and prolonged (80 according to Nonnos, Cumont II, 27 a, among which

value in accordance with a symbolic death and resurrection of the would-be initiate (p. 260). *E.g.* the would-be initiate had to, with blindfolded eyes and hands bound behind the back by a cord made of the intestines of the hen (*intestinis pullinis*), to jump over a ditch full of water, whereupon the bonds were severed with a sword by a "liberator".¹ Another rite, perhaps the very rite whereby the grade of *miles* was conferred, consisted, it seems, in the exhibition of a sword stained with blood,² this being an attenuated form of some bloody operation, which the would-be initiate had originally to undergo: the candidate put on the head a crown, which was presented to him through a sword; thereupon he took it off, and renounced for ever to wear another, because his crown was Mithra, to whom alone, as invincible, belonged the insignia of victory (Tertull. *de corona* 15). As, moreover, the *miles* was stamped, it seems, p. 265 with a mark on the forehead (*Mithra signat in frontibus milites suos* Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40), it was perhaps a far-off heritage of an old tattooage, such as that we meet with also in the mysteries of Attis (p. 111 seq.). In the passage to the grade of *leo* honey was poured on the hand and on the tongue of the candidate; and honey was also used in the bestowal of the grade of *Perses* (Porphy. *de antro nymphae*. 15).

hunger and thirst, passing across fire, immersion into water for twenty days, fasting for fifty days: Cummont I, 322) are later amplifications of Christian writers (as well as the legend of the sacrifice of children).

1 "August." *quaest. vet. et nov. testam.* Migne t. 34 p. 2214 = Cummont II, 7-8. Among the numerous bones of animals (cattle, sheep, pigs; also wolves, in honour of Ahriman: cf. above p. 245) which were found in the proximity of several mithraea, and which bear a witness of the persistence of the ancient bloody sacrifices, *e.g.* of the bull (according to the Avesta, *Yast* 10, 119 to Mithra "great and small animals and fowls" were sacrificed), also the bones of fowls are abundant, especially of pullets (Cummont I, 68 seq.).

2 Passage of Zacharias Scholasticus quoted by Cummont I, 361.

These names "lions" and "ravens", as well as those of other grades, e.g. "eagles" and "falcons",¹ having existed, as it seems, in the first phase of Mithraism anterior to the definitive systemisation of the hierarchy, all these animal names appear as a survivance of a most archaic custom, which, as it is common with ancient and modern primitive peoples (Thracians: p. 63),² might have been practised also by Iranian peoples, among whom perhaps those participating in the most solemn agrarian sacrifices of the bull or other victims, and in the concomitant intoxicating libations of the *Haoma* used to disguise themselves in the exterior aspect by putting on an animal costume (p. 224 seq.). In fact upto the last day of Mithraism, in the third and the fourth century A.D., the initiated who was admitted into the grade of the "lion" disguised himself in various animal shapes (Porphyr. *de abstin.* 4, 16 ὅ τε τὰ λεοντικά παραλαμβάνων περιτίθεται παντοδαπὰς ζῴων μορφάς). And not only in the costume, but also in crying, gesture and bearing did the initiates imitate the animals by which their respective grade was denominated (*alii autem sicut*

1 Ἀετός and ἰέραξ on several inscriptions of Lycaonia: Cumont II, 172 seq.; cf. *Les myst. de Mithra*³ 36 in nota. Cf. ἄετοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἰέρακες Porphyr. *de abstin.* 4, 16: also "hyenas" (ὑαίνας *ibid.*; perhaps to be read λεαίνας)? Cf. *quae lea jacet* in an inscription of Tripolis: Clermont-Ganneau, C. Rend. Ac. Inscr. 1903, 361, which would bear evidence of a Mithraic grade conferred by a woman (perhaps a survival of a primitive phase in which the women were also admitted?), whereas in general women were excluded from the Mithraic communities. On the effective existence of a Mithraic grade of the "eagle": Boll, *Der Adler als Mystengrad*, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 19, (1919), 553.

2 For the Mycenaean Greece, cf. the mural painting from Mycenae Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, pl. 10, 1; cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione nella Grecia antica*, 72 seq.

aves alas per cutiunt vocem coracis imitantes, alii vero leonem more fremunt: Augustin. *quaest. vet. et novi tes-* p. 266
tam. Migne vol. 34, p. 2214 seq.), just as even to-day the "savages" do; and we know that the "savages" also have secret societies with initiatic grades.¹ A monument which integrates and confirms the literary evidence is extremely interesting for this subject. In a relief, one of the very few which are sculptured on both sides (p. 249), coming from a mithræum discovered at Konjiza in Bosnia,² several initiates of various grades are represented attending a banquet: the "raven" and the "lion" are distinguished from the others, (i.e. from a "Persian" with a Phrygian cap and perhaps a "soldier"), because they wear a mask in the form of the head of a raven and of that of a lion respectively.

In the banquet scene represented on the relief of Konjiza there are two table-companions, lying the one beside the other, with a small table before them on which four breads are served. One of them is holding in his hand a *rhyton* or drinking-horn, and a "Persian" is approaching him with another *rhyton*. One of these two table-companions is probably an initiate and the other a priest, or at any rate a senior. This was probably the rite of admission into the supreme order of the hierarchy, that which conferred the whole or perfect (cf. *μετέχοντες*: p. 263) participation of the benefices of religion, that which crowned the initiating career after the manifold tests of the preceding grades. The bread and the wine (for which the *rhyton* must have served, cf. p. 254) alluded to the incomparable sacrifice of the primigenous bull, the bread (*panis oblation-*

1 H. Webster, *Società segrete primitive* ("Storia delle religioni" 2) Bologna, 1922.

2 Patsch, *Wissensch. Mitteil. aus Bosnien u. der Hercegovina* 6. 1899, 191 seq. pl. XII. Cf. CIL 3. 14617 and 14222¹. Cf. Cumont I, 175; *Myst. de Mithra*³, 164.

em: Tertull. *de praescr. haeter.* 40) as made of the grain sprung up from the spinal marrow of the bull (p. 251), and the wine (mixed with water: ἄστος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος Justin. *apolog.* 1, 66) as derived from the vine sprung up from its blood (p. 255).

- p. 267 In such a mystic banquet an echo was thus perpetuated of those most ancient agrarian rites in which the worshippers, after the sacrifice had taken place, probably eat the meat of the victim (p. 62 seq.); just as they partook in the exalting libations of *Haoma* (p. 225) (respectively of wine p. 255), forming part of the sacrifice itself. Also this culminating act of the Mithraic initiation, this holy banquet of participation, *i.e.* of communion, was sprung up from that primitive religiosity, in which the worshipper by absorbing the very nature of the victim came in some manner to share in its destiny. But this primitive and archaic element was now nothing but a survival having lost its original value, since Mithra had been associated with the ancient agrarian religiosity, more and more preponderating therein and finally becoming the central figure of Mithraism (p. 258). Therefore, as said above, in the whole system of the Mithraic mysteries the dominating idea was not, as in other mysteries, the assimilation of man to god, the participation in the divine nature, but the protection and assistance by the god (p. 261). Therefore also the culminating rite of the mystical banquet was not felt so much as an intimate and individual transubstantiation, but rather as the supreme grace of the god, who deigned to make himself a table-companion of man, a cherished sign of his friendship and a secure pledge of salvation. As such, in fact, the mystic banquet had also its mystical projection in the legend of Mithra; in fact, among the scenes illustrating the divine myth of Mithra there is one, reproduced in
- p. 268 several mithraea, in which Mithra is seen, in his character-

istic costume, sitting at a banquet together with another figure (sometimes also with the participation of many others).¹

This figure is characteristic of a whole group of scenes, in which, notwithstanding the variety of situations, not always and not all of them explicable in a satisfactory way, it wears generally a radiating crown; sometimes the crown lies on the ground. If this figure is the Sun, as it seems (cf. *Sol socius*: p. 248), it is to be admitted, at any rate, that very probably here the Sun is the prototype of the initiated, and the various situations in which he is represented in relation to Mithra are prototypes of the ceremonies of the initiation. Just as in the scene in which the crown, instead of being on the head of the "Sun", lies on the ground (Osterburken: Cumont II, pl. VI), the ceremony of the bestowal of the grade of "soldier" (p. 264) is probably represented, so the scene of the banquet is probably to be understood as a mythical anticipation of the initiatic agapae, so as it is realistically represented on the relief of Konjiza: here, as the figure of the initiate corresponds to the "Sun", the other figure, corresponding to Mithra, would be that of such a personage, who was most fit to represent a god, *e.g.* a *pater* (*patrum*) or more probably a priest (*sacerdos* CIL. 14. 64; 11. 5736; 5. 5893; *antistes* CIL. 14. 66),² this being the heir and successor of the ancient Magi (cf. ἐμύγευσσε Μίδου: see note 1 on page 169).

The scene of the banquet, judging from the position it occupies in the figured cycle of Mithra, must have represented a conclusive moment in the legendary vicissitudes of the god. But the real final episode is represented by a scene in which once again the two figures, p 269

1 Cumont I, 174 seq.

2 The *sacerdotes* were often also *patres*, CIL 6. 738, 2271, 3727.

that of the "Sun" and that of Mithra, occur mounted or in the act of mounting a chariot ready for the course. This scene is evidently the prototype of the ultramundane journey of the soul of the initiate, who realised after death that which had been his constant aspiration in his life, i.e. the resurrection in another immortal life and the ascension, under the guidance of Mithra, across the heavenly spheres towards the regions of sempiternal beatitude.¹

It was natural that the Mithraic banquet with bread and wine as its basis appears to the Christians to be a diabolic counterfeiting of the Eucharistic sacrament (Justin. *apolog.* 1. 66; cf. Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40). Let us add to this the sign (p. 264-5) impressed on the forehead of the third grade initiates (Tertull. *de corona* 15), corresponding to the Christian *chrism*; further the initiatic ablutions, similar to the baptism, having the virtue of cancelling sins (Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40), and the belief in the resurrection of the righteous ones and the celebration of "the day of the Sun" (*dies Solis*), coinciding with the "day of the Lord" (Tertull. *apolog.* 16; *ad nation.* 13); and finally, the celebration of the birth-day of the Sun (*natalis Solis*) on the winter-solstice (after which the day becomes longer than the night), coinciding with the nativity of Jesus.² Let us leave aside the question of priority, which arises from every one of these concordances. The fact is this that of all mysteric

1 On the metempsychosis in Mithraism, possibly witnessed by Porphy. *de abstin.* 4, 16 (quoting Πάλλας ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Μίθρα), cf. Cumont I, 40 seq.

2 Cumont I, 119, 342 n. 4; Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*², 250 seq.; Usener, *Weihnachtsfest*² (1911), 348; Cumont *Compt. rend. Acad. Inscr. B.*, L. 1911, 292; M. P. Nilsson, *Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes*, *Arch. f. Religionsw.* 19 (1919), 50 seq.

religions Mithraism is the one which shows the greatest similarities with Christianity. Even that spirit of exclusivism which was for Christianity one of the capital factors of the victory would not have been thoroughly foreign to p. 270 Mithraism, if the case mentioned by Eunapius of a personage invested with the highest functions in the Mithraic mysteries,¹ who had taken a secret oath of not presiding at other mysteries, could be generalised (ἐτέρον ἱερῶν μὴ πορ-σῆσθαι. Eunap. *vita sophist.* p. 475 Boisson). A norm of this kind, in case it effectively existed, would not have been observed at any rate neither everywhere nor constantly; in face of the progress of Christianity Mithraism itself was always more attracted in the orbit of other pagan mysteries, which sought in vain to oppose against Christian exclusivism the efforts of their united force (CIL. 6. 500 seq., 504, 510) under the hegemony of the religion of the *Magna Mater* (p. 137). While the latter on account of its privileged position (ch. III) came to be the natural protector of the other exotic religions in general, for Mithraism in particular it formed almost an integral complement in as much as it naturally attracted the women of the Mithraic devotees, who were as a rule excluded from the Mithraic communities.²

However, as the Phrygian religion of Attis and of the Great Mother (p. 138 seq.), as the Egyptian religion of Serapis (p. 190), so the Persian religion, was influenced by the assimilating tendency of a general syncretism. Syncretism developed itself not only in Hellenism (writings in Greek attributed to Zoroaster, to Hystaspes, to the Magian Hostanes) and in Judaism (apocrypha of Baruch, who

1 Another special prohibition for the *summus pontifex*: was that he could not marry more than once (Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40).

2 Cumont I, 330: cf. above n. 70.

was identified with Zarathushtra),¹ but also in Christianity, here giving impulse not only to various attempts
 p. 271 of presenting the Persian religion as a prelude of Christianity and Zarathushtra as a forerunner of Christ (cf. the legend of the three Magian kings), but also to some heterodox and sectarian "gnostic" formations, like those *Prodiciani*, who possessed apocryphal books attributed to Zoroaster, or those *Heliognosti*, who are more specially representatives of an approachment between Christianity and Mithraism, founded on the identification of Mithra with (*Shamash*)-*Helios* and of Christ with the "Sun of justice".²

Mithraism would have a by far greater, though an indirect, importance in connection with the problem of the same origins of Christianity, if these origins were really, as Reitzenstein advocates,³ dependent on an Iranian mystery, having reached across Mesopotamia the Jewish world, and there having so deeply impressed the popular and heterodox Judaism as to influence the community of John the Baptist, thence the community of Jesus itself, and finally the thought of Paul. The doctrine of the soul as an interior divine man, who, being emanated from the heavenly man, slumbers quasi-unconsciously in the world of matter and only saves himself, when he is waked up by

1 Cumont I, 44; Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 99 seq.; cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra*, 79 seq.

2 Malach. IV, 2; cf. Διὶ Ἠλίῳ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ Ἰησοῦ in the Διήγησις τῶν ἐν Περσίδι πραχθέντων, quoted by Cumont I, 43, cf. 355. Some see (Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* 1915, II 261) in the *Pileatus* spoken of by Augustine (*et ipse Pileatus Christianus est*, above on p. 139) Mithra himself rather than Attis.

3 R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, Bonn 1921. Cf. *Die Göttin Psyche in der hellenistischen u. frühchristlichen Literaturen*, Sitzungsber. der Heidelb. Akademie, 1917 n. 10).

the message of a divine savior, so as to be repeated for every individual soul the prototypical vicissitudes of the first man: this doctrine, whose analogy with some Pauline doctrines are evident, would be, according to Reitzenstein, originated from an Iranian mystery, whose traces are preserved in Mandeism¹ and Manichæism. But this oriental Iranian mystery cannot be historically understood — this being the preliminary task for every ulterior deduction, otherwise than in connection with that other (western) Iranian mystery which is Mithraism. As the oriental Iranian mystery itself appertains rather to the popular than to the Zoroastrian religion (Reitzenstein), this and Mithraism would represent two lines of divergent development from one and the same point of origin.² This point, as we have seen above, is to be found on a line going back to the primitive phases of the Iranian religion, and more precisely to that agrarian religiosity from which the mysteries are generally originated. p. 272

These most ancient agrarian rites with animal sacrifices and intoxicating libations as their basis, represented in the Iranian religion a first nucleus of mysticism from which an Iranian mystery of salvation could be developed. And if in Manichæism Ohrmazd himself assumed the rôle of the savior, probably only after his degradation from the rank of the supreme Principle, which was taken up by Zrvan, this development is paralleled on the other line by Mithra assuming the same function, by taking the place of the genuine Savior, *i.e.* of the original sacrificer of the first bull, *i.e.* probably the first man ("Adam"). From the spinal marrow of the first bull sprang up corn, from his

1 R. Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse u. die Evangelienüberlieferung*, Sitzungsber. der Heidelb. Akad. 1919, n. 12.

2 Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erlösungsmyst.* 8, 31, 42, etc.

blood sprang up vine, and therefore the bread and the wine are the elements of the mystic banquet, in which every man attains the supreme hope of salvation (p. 266). He who is disposed to see in the Pauline system the influence
p. 273 of the Iranian eschatological beliefs, will at once perceive the value of this coincidence, the bread and the wine being also the elements of the Christian Eucharist, and precisely the bread as the body, the wine as the blood of the Lord (Marc. 14. 22 seq., Math. 26, 26 seq., Luk. 22. 19 seq., cf. 1. Cor. 10. 21). From this standpoint Mithraism would attain indirectly a capital importance with regard to the problem of the origins of Christianity.

THE DERIVATION OF THE GUJARATI WORD કારંજી યા કારંજી (KARANJÔ OR KÂRANJÔ).¹

BY DR. SÎR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

For the English word "fountain", we have in our Gujarati dictionaries, કુઆરો, કારંજી, કારંજી (*fiârô, karanjô, kâranjô*)². Shapurji Edalji, in his Gujarati-English Dictionary³, gives, for the Gujarati word કારંજી (*karanjô*), "a cascade, fountain."

Now, what is this word? I do not find the word in Steingass's Persian Dictionary. I do not find it in Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary. I beg to suggest the following derivation. It may be Persian *kârez* (کاريز). Steingass (p. 1004) says: "*Kârez*, a subterraneous canal, a sewer; a ditch dug round a field to convey water." Johnson gives, for a "canal", the word قنات *qanât* and the word کاريز *kâriz*.

Then, how can we explain the Persian word *kâriz*?

(a) At first thought, one may be tempted to derive the word from کاه *kâh*, hay or straw, and *rikhtan* (ريختن), to pour, i.e., that which carries water for straw or vegetation. (b) Or, perhaps, one may take it as *kishtriz* (کشتريز), i.e., from *kisht* (کشت), field, and *rikhtan*, i.e., "what pours (i.e., carries) water to fields."

1 This paper was read before the 5th Oriental Conference, which met at Lahore in November 1928.

2 *Vile Students' English and Gujarati Dictionary*, by M. Trikamdas and Javerilal G. Desai, 1885, p. 296.

3 Ed. of 1863, p. 72.

But the most probable derivation is suggested to me by the Pahlavi commentary of the third section of the first chapter of the Vendidad. There, in the original Avesta, is a mention of Aerân-vej as the first, out of the 16, countries which formed, at one time or another, the Great Irân. The Avesta speaks of the country as "Airya-nem Vêjô Vanghuyâo Daityayâo". سدها دایتهای وانهویرا ایریا نهم, *i.e.*, the Irân Vej of the good Daiti.

The Pahlavi translator and commentator translates thus :

سدها دایتهای وانهویرا ایریا نهم
 سدها دایتهای وانهویرا ایریا نهم
 ایریا نهم وانهویرا ایریا نهم
 ایریا نهم وانهویرا ایریا نهم
 ایریا نهم وانهویرا ایریا نهم

Translation:—Airân Vej of the good Daitya. [This (river) is (called) good Daiti for this reason, that the river Daiti flows in that country and does its work by *avae-paëm* (*i.e.*, subterranean conduits). There are some, who say, thus, that, by means of *avae-paëm* (which) they bring, they do work (cultivation) in that place].

The Avesta word *avae-paëm* is a rare word. The Pahlavi translator gives it in Avesta characters. It is used nowhere else. It seems to be some corrupted form of *ava* and *âpa* (آوا and آپا), *i.e.*, "below" and "water", meaning subterranean water.

1 Pahlavi Vendidad, by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, p. 4, l. 5.
Vide Pahlavi Vendidad by Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, p. 2.

The Pahlavi word *kar* or *kâr* may be taken to be the same as Arabic *karr* (كر), meaning a small cistern or reservoir.¹ Now, those who have seen the *kâriz* and *kanâts* of Persia, know how water is brought to the fields by subterranean channels and other means. So, I think, that the Pahlavi word *kâr* in the above passage has originated the word *kâriz*. The word may be *kâr-riz*, i.e., a canal or conduit, whereby water is poured or brought into work in a field. So, I derive the Parsee Gujarati word *karanjô* (કરંજો) from Pahlavi *kâr-riz* which may be written کړړیز or کړیز. The latter form کړیز may be read *kârniz*.

1 Steingass.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON IRANIAN SUBJECTS.

(J. J. M.)

I

**Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala's paper on "The Ancient Persian
Inscriptions of the Achaemenides found at Susa."**

Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala has recently published a paper entitled "The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenides found at Susa." In it, he has given, with an interesting Introduction, the Texts and Translations of some of the Inscriptions given by Rev. Father V. Scheil in the 21st Volume of "Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse." These Inscriptions were discovered in excavations carried on at Susa by the French Government since 1897.

The Inscription of Darius I (B.C. 522-486) relates to "the foundation of the palace of Susa. The king, appreciating the gift of Ahura Mazda to him of 'good horses and good subjects' etc., declares, that he had come to the throne during the life-time of his father Hystaspes and grandfather Arsama. His father was living when he completed the palace of Susa. The people of Babylon and Assyria helped him in building the palace. Materials were brought from distant countries. Wood called *naurina* was brought from Lebanon and that called *yakà* from Gandara. Gold was brought from Sardes and Bactria; precious stones like *kaputka* and *sikba* from Sogdiana and those like *aršina* from Chorasmia; silver and one other metal from Egypt; materials for the

decoration of the wall of fortification from Ionia; ivory from Kušša, India and Arachosia; and stone columns from Aphrodisias of Ogia. Artizans came from Media, Babylonia and Egypt. The palace was built on an artificial platform.....standing 15 m. higher than the land of the plain of the Kerkhah."

The Inscriptions of Darius are as usual in the three languages of his Empire—Persian, Anzanite, and Babylonian. Rev. Scheil has restored 20 inscriptions of Darius, 7 of Xerxes, 2 of Artaxerxes II Mnemon, and 1 of Artaxerxes III Ochus. Darius I had built the palace as well as the celebrated *apadana* of Susa. The *apadana* was latterly burnt down by fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I. Next to those of Behistun and Naqsh-i Rostam, the inscription at Susa stands as the third in length. The Persian version exists on a "baked clay tablet, which was, at first, most probably deposited in the royal treasury."

The clay-tablet versions in the other two state-languages are lost. The text of the inscriptions fortunately existed in duplicates on slabs of chalk-stone which were probably buried in the foundation. The date of building the Susa palace approximately comes to "517-16 B.C., *i.e.*, about a year later than the building of the big terrace of Persepolis, which event Herzfeld places in about 518-17 B.C." "It seems that the political troubles in Asiatic provinces ended in about 518 B.C." and the king then went to Egypt and subdued the African peoples, the Putiyas, the Kušiyas, the Macyas (the Maxyes of Herodotus IV, 191, who were Lybian husbandmen and lived in regions corresponding to modern Tunis) and the Karkas who may be Carthagenians.

Dr. Unvala thus closes his very interesting Introduction: "My chief intention in publishing this booklet is

to lay in an English version before the Trustees of those Parsi Funds, from which I am generously helped in my studies, and before those Parsi gentlemen who besides giving their material support in my research work, are extending their liberal patronage towards my literary publications, a highly interesting and unique record of peaceful achievements of their glorious ancestor Darius Hystaspes."

In closing this brief notice of Dr. J. M. Unvala's learned booklet, I beg to thank the Trustees of the above referred to Funds—The N. M. Wadia Charity Funds and the Muncherji F. Cama Athornan Institute—and the few Parsi gentlemen, who, kindly responding to my appeal to them, have placed at my disposal sufficient funds for helping the archaeological studies of Dr. Unvala at Paris and Susa.

II

Prof. Arthur Christensen's paper on the Later Avesta.

Prof. Arthur Christensen, in his paper¹ entitled "Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique" (Study of the Zoroastrianism of Ancient Persia) has included two articles—I, "Contributions à la critique de l'Avesta récent" and II, "Zoroastrisme et Zurvanisme". The first article is a good dissertation upon the Yashts.

According to Dr. Geldner, the following Yashts are older compositions: Yashts 5 (Aban), 8 (Tir), 9 (Gosh), 10 (Meher), 13 (Farvardin), 14 (Behram), 15 (Ram), 16 (Din), 17 (Ashi) and 19 (Jamyad). The rest are

¹ Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk filologiske Meddelelser. XV, 2 (1928).

later. Prof. Christensen tries to fix the date of their composition a little more approximately. He takes the Yashts 10 (Meher), 13 (Farvardin) and 19 (Jamyad) to be pre-Achæmenian, or, at least, as those written in the early Achæmenian times.

The Jamyad Yasht belongs, as it were, to Seistan. Its horizon does not extend to the West of Irân.

Prof. Christensen takes Yashts 5 (Aban), 8 (Tir), 14 (Behram), 15 (Ram), Yasna 9 to 11 (Hom Yasht) and Yasna 57 (the larger Sarosh Yasht) to have been written in the 4th century B.C., in the times of the Achæmenians. Out of these, he takes Yasht 5 (Aban), to have been written some time after 404 B.C., in the reign of Artaxerxes (404-358 B.C.). Aban Yasht knew both the East and the West of Irân.

Of the above-mentioned three, pre-Achæmenian yashts, he takes the Meher Yasht to be the oldest. The countries, it refers to, are Sogdiana, Margiana, Kharzem and Areia (Herat).

He places the Gosh Yasht, which speaks of an Yazata named Dravâsp, in the first century A.C. Dravâsp is not much mentioned in the Avesta. This deity is mentioned on the coins of Kanishka (about 125 to 152 A.C.), a king of the Kushans who ruled on the frontiers of India. So, he places this Yasht (Gosh) some time before the time of Kanishka, in the 1st century after Christ.

The mountain Haraiti or Hara berezaiti, referred to in the Aban and Hom Yashts, which was the first cradle of the growth of the Haoma plant, is of the chain of the Paropamisus mountain. The growth of this plant was spread by birds in other directions; e.g., (a) to the

mount Upâiri-Saëna, which Christensen, in company with Bartholomae (Altir. Worten Buch, p. 398) and Marquart (Erânšahr, p. 286), identifies with the Kâh-i-Bâbâ of the Hindukush, and (b) to the seat of the Starôsâra, which is still not identified.

Our author thinks that a part of the Farvardin Yasht refers to the legendary history of pre-Zoroastrian times and is older than Abân, Gosh, Ram, Ashi and Jamyâd Yashts. He thinks that kings Takhma Urupa (Tehmurasp) and Hoshang were Iranian Scythians. Referring to the style of the Yashts, he says, that a general rule is, that the more ancient an Yasht, the more therein predominates metrical (poetical) form. He traces the order of the beings, who have Fravashis in the Farvardin Yasht, as follows:—(a) Ahura Mazda, (b) Amesha Spenta, (c) Yazatas in the order Atar (urvâzišta), Sraosha, Neryosang, Rashnu, Mitra, and Manthra. (d) Heavens, earth, plants and the primordial ox, (e) Gayomard, (f) Zarathushtra, (g) Maidhyomah, (h) Zarathushtra's group, *i.e.*, his disciples and sons, King Gushtasp and his sons and other members of his family, Frashostar and Jamasp, (i) A number of others, who defended and helped the Zoroastrian faith. In all, there are 227 names whose Fravashis are invoked. As there are no names of later historical personages, our author concludes that the Farvardin Yasht is, like the Meher Yasht, the most ancient of the writings of the later Avesta. Both these Yashts seem to have been written in Eastern Irân (p. 15).

Dr. Christensen's very long dissertation on the Farvardin Yasht (pp. 10-35) is interesting from the point of view of the following subjects:—

- (1) The Beings and the Personages mentioned in the Yasht.
- (2) The five countries of Irân, Turan, etc., mentioned in the Yasht.
- (3) The formation of several names of persons in the calendar or the list of the illustrious dead in the Yasht.
- (4) The Division of the World in three parts by Faridun.
- (5) The Kayânides.

He enters into a lengthy consideration of the Kayânides. He writes against the view of Hertel, and concludes, that the Kayanians flourished long before the Achæmenians. From the very fact, among others, that Darius does not speak of his father Hystaspes as a Kai, in his Cuneiform Inscriptions, he concludes that this Hystaspes is not the *Kai Vishtasp* (Gushtasp) of the Avesta.

The Ram Yasht is recent but it is older than Gosh Yasht. The Din Yasht is said to have been written in the times of the Arsacides.

Our author gives the following chronological table about the time of the composition of the Yashts:—

| | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|--|
| Yasht 10 | } | They were pre-Achæmenian or written in the time of the early Achæmenians. | |
| " 13 | | | |
| " 19 | | | |
| Yasht 5 | } | They were written in the times of the Achæmenians, probably in the 4th century B.C. | |
| " 17 | | | |
| " 8 | | | |
| " 14 | | | |
| Yasna 9-11 | | | |
| " 57 | } | | |
| Yasht 15 (ss. 6-37) | | | |

The Vendidad is the only book of the existing Avesta, which corresponds to a Nask of the Sasanian period. On comparing the present Vendidad with its summary given in the 8th Book of the Dinkard, it appears, that by the time of the 9th century A.C., when the Dinkard was compiled, the original 12th *pargarad* was already lost. The present 12th chapter is a modern substitution. In the Vendidad, the vigour of the style and the poetic spirit of the Yashts are not observed. It is only here and there that old fragments of religious poetry are observed. Prof. Christensen agrees with Prof. Andreas in taking the Vendidad to have been written in the times of the Parthian King Mithridates I. The countries, named in the first chapter of the Vendidad, seem to be the countries in which Zoroastrianism prevailed in the time of the Arsacides. So the Vendidad seems to have been written in the early period of the rule of the Arsacides, *i.e.*, in the 3rd century B.C.

With reference to the custom of the disposal of the dead, in the Achæmenian times, the Magis exposed the dead, but the kings were buried. But, in the times of the Arsacides, when the Vendidad was written, the exposure of the dead was obligatory for all Zoroastrians.

III

Prof. Christensen on Zoroastrianism and Zurvanism.

Time (Zurvan) and Space (thwasha) play a prominent part, even now, in the consideration of the question of Infinity—the Infinite God and his Infinite Universe. So, they (Time and Space) are referred to here and there in the Avesta. It is nearly a century, since when Iranian scholars of Europe refer to them. Some of them alleged, that the ancient Zoroastrians considered “Zravana Akarana” (Endless Time) as the Supreme Deity, even

over Ahura Mazda. Muller and Spiegel contended against them, about 80 years ago, and said that "in the proper Parsi system, there is no place for Zarvân as the Supreme Deity¹". There was a sect of the Zurvanistes, who seemed to attach much importance to Zurvân, but that belief has no foundation in the Avesta. Prof. Christensen discusses this question. He refers (p. 47) to some foreign writers, like Eudemos Rhodios, Eznik and others, and, against the view of Spiegel, Muller, Haug and others, thinks, that the Zurvanite belief was not a passing belief in Iran, prevailing among a sect, but was one of the primitive elements (*éléments primitifs*) of Zoroastrianism (page 56).

The answer, that a modern Zoroastrian can give to him and to those of his belief is this: If it was a primitive element of the Zoroastrian faith, like all primitive elements, it must stick to the Faith and come down from age to age, upto now. Secondary elements may, and do, disappear; but not so easily, the primitive elements. Ask an ordinary Zoroastrian of the present day, if Zurvân plays any part in his belief and he will say "No". Ritualistic ceremonies are performed in honour of Ahura Mazda, the Ameshaspands, the Yazatas, the Fravashis, but none whatever in honour of, or even distinctly associated with, Zravâna.

IV

Prof. Christensen on M. Benveniste's paper on the Zurvanites.

M. Benveniste has treated the subject of Zrvanism in his paper, entitled "Un rite Zervanite chez Plutarque". Prof. Chritensen has written another paper, entitled "A-t-il existe une religion Zurvanite"? in "Le Monde Orientale" (Volume XV, 1931), wherein he refers to, and,

¹ Spiegel's Treatise on the 19th Chapter of the Vendidad. *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B.B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view", p. 44.

discusses, Mr. Benveniste's above paper. M. Benveniste takes it that the Zurvanites were a sect separate from true Zoroastrians. Prof. Christensen, discussing this view, now seems to have been toned down a little, but still thinks that the idea of Zurvanism was in vogue in the Zoroastrianism of the Sasanian times, though the formation of the sect may be later.¹

V

Prof. Christensen on Abarsam and Tansar.

Another interesting paper of Prof. Christensen, entitled "Abarsâm et Tansar", published in *Acta Orientalia* (Volume X, 1931), discusses the question, whether Abarsâm mentioned in the *Fârsnâme* (The *Fârsnâme* of Ibnu'l-Balkhi, edited by G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, p. 60, l. 4) is the same person as Tansar, mentioned in the letter of Tansar addressed to the King of Tabaristan as given by Ibn Isfandiyar (*vide* Darmesteter's Text and Translation in the *Journal Asiatique*, Neuvième Série, Tome III, pp. 503-5. *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B.B.R.A.S.," pp. 33-35). Prof. Christensen thinks that both the personages are the same. Abarsâm may be the proper name of this Dastur of Ardeshir Babegan, and Tansar, *i.e.*, the head (*sar*) of the body (*tan*), was the title.

¹ Mihr-Nersel, the Persian Governor of Armenia, had published an ordinance on the belief of Zervana Akarana (*Vide* Prof. Rehatsek's paper on "Christianity in the Persian Dominions", J.B.B.R.A.S., XIII, pp 18-108). *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B.B.R.A.S.," p. 84.

VI

**A Sketch of the Manichæan Doctrine concerning the
Future Life, by Prof. A. V. W. Jackson.**

This paper is a reprint from an issue of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Volume 50, No. 3, of Professor Jackson's Presidential Address, delivered at the meeting of the Society held at Toronto in Canada in 1930. We are pleased to learn from it that, shortly, we may expect from the fertile pen of Prof. Jackson, a large volume on the Manichæan doctrine. In this brief paper, we get a foretaste of the full coming meal.

The Sasanian dynasty of Persia has seen two—what may be called from the then Iranian point of view—great heresies. One was inaugurated by Mazdak and another by Mani. Mazdakism, though, at first, supported by the ruling King Kobad, was shortly put an end to by his son Khursu Kobad, who, for his services in that direction, got the honorific title of Anousherwân at the hands of his Iranian co-religionists and was canonized in the beautifully composed Afrin-i-Rapithawin of the Parsis, which is still recited by Parsi priests, especially on the Rapithawin day, the third day of the first month of the Parsi year. We hear and read much of socialism these days, but Mazdak was the first Iranian socialist, and, fortunately, his socialism was short-lived, especially because it was mixed up with ideas that made the holy ties of marriage very loose (*vide* my paper on "Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist" in my "Memorial Papers").

But Manichæism lived long. Though killed in Persia, the land of its birth, it lived for about 1000 years in Central Asia. We had other sources, and among them Arab sources, for its doctrines, but during these last few years, the Turfan manuscripts, among which

some are Pahlavi, have added new materials. It is these new materials that Professor Jackson refers to in this paper.

As said by our author, "the doctrine relating to the hereafter formed the central point towards which Mani's religious and ethical teachings gravitated and in which they culminated with the promised reward for the sanctified." On this subject of Manichæan eschatology, Prof. Jackson has dealt, first, with the fate of the individual soul after death, and then, with the end of the world. He refers to the influence on Manichæism of the religions of Zoroaster, Buddha and Christ. In the matter of the Individual Judgment, he briefly refers to the following subjects:—

- (1) The appearance of a maiden before the departed soul.
- (2) The threefold lot of man in the future life.
- (3) The weighing of one's deeds in a balance.
- (4) The Individual lot.

I think, that in Iranian eschatology, the appearance of a beautiful maiden before a Righteous soul—what Revd. Dr. Cheyne in his "Origin of the Psalter" calls a beautiful allegory—was the original thought; that of an ugly woman, a later thought.

In Mani's threefold lot of man in his future life—the Elect, the Hearers and the Sinners—the Hearers occupy the position of the Hamastagehânis. They have the chance to hear, in the Higher regions, the teachings of some Higher powers and proceed to the abode of the Elect. Mani's ships of the sun and moon for the Elect remind us of the Khurshed-paya and Mah-paya paradises of the Iranians.

After an interesting summing up of Mani's view about the Final Judgment, Prof. Jackson gives us his own rendering of some Manichæan Pahlavi fragments.

VII

Prof. Roland G. Kent on "The recently published Old Persian Inscriptions".

We have a learned article in the Journal of the American Oriental Society of September 1931 (Vol. 51, No. 3, pp. 189-240) from the pen of Prof. Roland G. Kent of the University of Pennsylvania, under the heading of "The Recently Published Old Persian Inscriptions". We are glad to find from it, that the work of Dr. Jamshed Manockji Unvala, who, when last in Bombay, had delivered some lectures in our K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, is drawing attention of scholars. In the present article, Prof. Kent dwells mainly on the Inscriptions, which were discovered by the French Archæological Mission in their excavations at Susa, and which are recently published by Dr. V. Scheil, under the title of "Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse". Dr. Unvala has made Dr. Scheil's work available to all readers by his recent book, entitled "The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achæmenides, found at Susa", referred to above in this article. These Inscriptions are 22 in number and belong to Darius I and II and to Xerxes and Artaxerxes. In the matter of one of Darius II, Prof. Kent differs from Dr. Scheil as to its authorship. Our author has tried to restore the Inscriptions and then given their transliteration and translation. Of the work of Dr. Unvala, Prof. Kent says, that the Old Persian Inscriptions in it are edited "with a valuable introduction, a summary of new words and forms, a passage concordance with previously

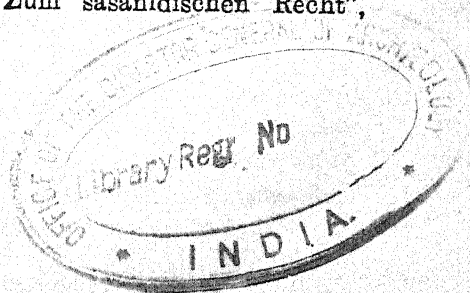
known inscriptions, an English translation, and a glossary with etymological and epexegetical material". We are glad to observe, that Mr. E. Benveniste, who was in our midst in Bombay for some months and was our co-worker in several directions, and who has also worked on this theme, has also received appreciation for his work.

We are also glad to observe, that Dr. Unvala's paper, "Two New Historical Documents of the Great Achæmænian King Darius Hystaspes, read before our Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandli, in the hall of our Cama Oriental Institute, on 24th September 1926, passes under notice in this paper at the hand of Prof. Kent. Dr. Unvala's paper on the two Inscriptions on a gold and silver plate, discovered near Hamadan, is published in our Journal (No. 10, pp. 1-3). When travelling in Persia in the end of 1925, I had the good fortune of receiving a photo of the golden plate from Dr. Said Khan Kurdistani at Teheran. I had the pleasure of submitting this photo at the meeting, where Dr. Unvala's paper was read. I had some correspondence with a scholar at Teheran in the matter of acquiring the golden plate for the Parsee community, and, then, had some correspondence with some Parsee gentlemen here. I had also interviews with one or two gentlemen. But the price asked for it, about Rs. 20,000, was found to be too much and the matter was dropped. I do not know where the plates are at present. They are most probably acquired by the Persian Government. My photo of the golden plate is published at the end of Dr. Unvala's paper in our Journal.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

By a resolution dated the 17th January, 1922, the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute entrusted to Mr. L. Bogdanov, the work of translating Professor Bartholomae's "Zum sasanidischen Recht", Parts I, II and III. On receiving the translation of these three parts, Part I was handed over to the Press for publication.

By another resolution dated the 12th July, 1923, Mr. Bogdanov was requested to translate "Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch" by the same savant. It was not thought fit to delay the publication of the translation of "Zum sasanidischen Recht", Part I, until the translation of the other work, "Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch", published in this number, was received. It need not be mentioned that the "Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch" was published by Professor Bartholomae as an introductory work, before the "Zum sasanidischen Recht", Part I, was compiled.






PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The essay submitted here is a translation of the Introductory Part in **Prof. Ch. Bartholomae's** series of treatises on Sasanian Law, as has already been pointed out by us in the "Preface by the Translator" to Part I of the said series. Little can be added to what has been said in that Preface except a few words on the manner in which we have proceeded with regard to the translation, and on the few slight deviations from the German original we thought necessary of introducing.

In the first instance, the text of the Pahlavi passages discussed, their transcription in Roman characters and their translation are disposed in the German original on a very intricate plan, ultimately abandoned by the author himself in his later essays. In fact, the arrangement in the original in two vertical columns, the right one containing the translation and the left one allotted to the text with an interlinear transcription in Roman characters running backwards, offered many drawbacks, both as regards its composition by the printers and from the point of reading. We have not, therefore, hesitated in changing that plan into a more usual form, *viz.* with the text, the transcription and the translation simply following each other.

Our English translation of Salemann's Middle-Persian Grammar having lately appeared in the publications of the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay, we have everywhere substituted in quotations the pages of the English translation, as more readily accessible in India, in place of those of the German original, as quoted by **Bartholomae**.

Since the German original of the present essay does not contain any Indices, beyond a brief list of passages translated and discussed, we have not attempted "improving on the original" by adding any elaborate Indices to our translation. In that again, we have followed our principle of keeping as near as possible to the original.

Very slight alterations have been introduced in the transcription of Pahlavi words and that only in two or three cases, where there seemed to be good reasons for doing so. One or two examples will show what those reasons were. The word , for instance, is transcribed by the author in the present essay as *vyāk*, in his later essays as *gyāk*, and finally, in the latest Parts of the series, as *yyāk*. Neither the first, nor the third of these transcriptions being warranted either graphically or traditionally, we have selected the second of the author's three different readings, although even that cannot be considered altogether as perfect. We have, on the other hand, preserved the transcription *pātaxšāh* used by the author in the present essay for  or  which he transcribes in the later issues of the series, less accurately it would seem, as *pātaxšāy*.

To make this essay self-sufficient, a List of Abbreviations has been added, based, with a few additions, on the List appended by us to Part I of the present series.

L. BOGDANOV.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AGr.: Armenische Grammatik (HÜBSCHMANN).

AL.: Ancient Indian.

AirWb.: Altiranisches Wörterbuch (BTHL.).

Aog.: Aogemadaecha (ed. GEIGER).

AVN.: The Book of Arda Virāf.

Aw.: Avestan.

Bd.: Bundahišn (ed. WESTERGAARD, JUSTI. The references are to pages and lines).

BGB.: Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch (the German Civil Code).

Bthl.: BARTHOLOMAE.

BullAcPét.: Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg.

DM.: Dēnkart ed. MADAN (the references are to pages and lines).

DKS.: Dēnkart ed. SANJANA (the references are to pages and lines).

DWb.: Deutsches Wörterbuch.

Einl.: Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen (SPIEGEL).

FrP.: Frahang-i Pahlavik ed. JUNKER (the references are to chapters and lines).

GAb.: Mātikān-i Gajastak Abāliš.

GAw.: Avestan of the Gathas.

GIRPh.: Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.

GrBd.: Great Bundahišn ed. ANKLESARIA (the references are to pages and lines).

Grdr.: Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen (BRUGMANN).

- GrSogd.: *Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne* (GAUTHIOT).
- IF.: *Indogermanische Forschungen* (ed. BRUGMANN and STREITBERG).
- KN.: *Kārnāmak-i Artaxšēr-i Pāvakān*.
- M.: *Handschriftentexte aus Turfan* (F. W. K. MÜLLER),
and *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch* (I D E M).
- ManStud.: *Manichäische Studien* (SALEMANN).
- MK.: *Codex MK. of DASTUR JAMASP-ASANA*.
- MéAs.: *Mélanges Asiatiques*.
- MhD.: *Mādigān-i-Hazār Dādistan* ed. MODI (the references are to pages and lines).
- MhDA.: *The Social Code of the Parsis in Sasanian times*
ed. E. T. D. ANKLESARIA.
- MIRANM.: *Zur Kenntniss der mittelperianischen Mundarten*
(BTHL.), SHAW.
- MPB.: *Middle-Persian of the books*.
- MPGr.: *SALEMANN, Middle-Persian Grammar*, Parsee Panchayet Publications, Bombay, 1930.
- MPT.: *Pahlavi texts of Turfan*.
- MS.: *Middle-Soghdian* (where no additional definition is given—"Middle-Soghdian Buddhist Texts").
- MX.: *Minōk-i Khrad*, editions: ANDREAS, SANJANA, WEST
(the references are to §§ and lines).
- NpEt.: *Neupersische Etymologie* (HORN).
- PahlT.: *Pahlavi Texts* (JAMASP ASANA).
- PersStud.: *Persische Studien* (HÜBSCHMANN).
- PF.: *Pahlavi-Awesta Frahang* (ed. REICHELT, WZKM.,
14. 182 ff.)
- PN.: *Pahlavi Nīrangistān*.

PN (Tahm.): Pahlavi Nīrangistān (the T. D. ANKLESARIA Codex).

Pū. : Pahlavi translations (of Avestan texts).

PV. : Pahlavi Vidēvdād (Vendīdād).

PVr. : Pahlavi Visperad.

PW. : ROTH and BÖHTLINGK's Dictionary.

PY. : Pahlavi Yasn.

PYt. : Pahlavi Yašt.

SBayrAW.: Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SBE. : Sacred Books of the East.

SHAW. : Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Skr. : Sanskrit.

Sp. : SPIEGEL's ed. of the Visperad.

SRb. : Über ein Sasanidisches Rechtsbuch (BTHL.), SHAW.

SW. : Sanskrit Wörterbuch (BÖHTLINGK).

SWAW. : Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SyrRechtsb. : Syrisches Rechtsbuch (SACHAU).

ŠnŠ. : Šāyast-nē-Šāyast.

Šv. : Škand-gumānik Vižār.

WZKM. : Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG. : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZendHss. : Catalogus Codicum Mss. Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, v. I, pars VII (BTHL.).

NOTES ON A SASANIAN LAW-BOOK.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

PROF. CH. BARTHOLOMAE (HEIDELBERG)

translated by

L. BOGDANOV.

—:0:—

[illegible]

applied to our text by **West** and considered by **Modi** in his Introduction as "a very appropriate name", is by no means a fully suitable one. One ought not to forget that **West** had hardly seen even one third of the manuscript. A comprehensive estimation of the work must remain in abeyance for a later time.

The translation of, and the commentary on a small selection of passages from the MhD. which follow here have, along with **philological** aims, also more especially in view the object of bringing to light the MhD. as a noteworthy source for **comparative jurisprudence**. The justifiable desire to see a complete translation of the MhD. remains unattainable, at least until a second manuscript of the text is found, which would help to correct the numerous errors and to fill in the gaps of the manuscript under discussion; everybody can see it for himself at a glance at the Edition. I hope, however, that my present attempt to translate, a few passages, which, should the circumstances prove favourable, shall be followed by further endeavours in that direction, will serve as an incentive for other Pahlavi scholars to take up in their turn the study of that important collection of Sasanian juridical opinions.

The twofold object of the present essay made me think of the necessity of establishing some external difference by means of shortening the line and using the sign ". A complete separation is, of course, impossible.

In the estimation of the texts that follow I wish the reader to have in view the following details :—

1. **Superfluous words** and interpunctuations in the text are enclosed into round brackets (),
2. **Supplemented words** in the text and also in the translation are enclosed into square brackets [];
3. **Slightly altered words** are marked by + +

4. Corrupted words are marked by x x.

MPB, MPS, MPT mean correspondingly: Middle-Persian (Pahlavi) of the books; on signets; in the Turfan-texts.

For the abbreviations of the Middle-Persian book-
titles v. IF. 23. 334 ff. I add besides also:

Šv. = Škand Vimānik Vičār ; quoted from : Shikand-
Gūmanik Vijār.....edited by.....E. W. West. Bombay,
1887. Numbers of chapters and paragraphs.

GrBd. = Great Bundahišn; quoted from: The Būndahishn. Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript No. 2edited by **T. D. Anklesaria**. Bombay, 1908. Numbers of pages and lines.

ŠnŠ. = Šāyest nē šāyest; cf. **West** SBE. 5. 237 ff. The text still remains unedited*; I have been using for it the manuscript Cod. Mon. Zend. 51a.

For the unpublished part of the **Dātestān i dēnik** (Dd.) I had at my disposal the Cod. Havn. Zend 35.

—:0:—

1. 3. 10 f.

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

* The text (unfortunately in transcription only) of the ŠnŠ, together with a translation and a running commentary has been since edited, whilst the present translation was in press, by J. C. Tavadia, Hamburg, 1930. — *The Translator.*

If he [the husband] says to the wife: "Thou art [hereby] made by me an empowered mistress of thy person", then she is not dismissed [from matrimony], but the authorization to enter into *čakar*-matrimony with a[nother] husband is given her.

The passage forms the first sentence (*dātastīn*) of the "Chapter on the dismissal from matrimony" (دستور)

دستور د ځان د ځان د *dar i hištan i hač žanīh*

which occupies the space from 3.9 to 5.3. Further sentences from the same Chapter v. sub. 2, 3, 4.

It is not stated more detailedly, what special legal consequences there result from a matrimony (*žanīh*) being considered not as dissolved, but as subsisting, although the husband (*šōd*) has granted the wife (*žan*) the right of free disposal over her own person, so that she is empowered to contract a *čakar*-matrimony with another husband; yet, v. in 2.

The present-day Parsis understand under a *čakar*-matrimony the matrimony connected with the re-marriage of a widow; cf. Kleuker, ZA. 3.230, Justi Bd. 119, NB. 334, Spiegel EA. III, 678, Houtum-Schindler ZDMG. 36.87, West, SBE. 5.143, 18. 185. That does not cover what was understood by it, according to the context in the passage of the MhD., in Sasanian times. Nor is there any passage from Middle-Iranian texts containing the word *čakar* known to me which would connect the *čakār*-matrimony necessarily with a widow.¹ It could, of course, be maintained that the authorization conferred by the husband, which is dealt with in MhD.

1 " It is, besides, authenticated by me in the following passages:

MhD. 32.3, 15, 17, 48.3, 5. N. 7.27, 28, 13, 14, 15; Šn. 10.21, 12. 14; Dd. 56.7 (Cod. Havn. Zend. 35, fol. 17^v v. l. 4); Bd. 80.1, 4 (=32.6, 7, Gr.Bd. 235.15, 236.2); Dk. 492.5.

3. 10, has to be thought of as a testamentary disposition and that the sentence about the matrimony not being considered as dissolved under the given circumstances has not a juridical, but a religious meaning; that it ought to be brought into connection with the teaching of the *rivā-yāt*¹ according to which a *čakar*-wife "in any case, belongs to the first husband in the other world" (West, SBE. 5.143). The other sentences of our section, however, and the whole book in general concern themselves clearly and exclusively with the actual relations of this world, so that such an interpretation is inadmissible even for that reason. I do not, however, hold it for excluded that the present day conception of the idea of the *čakar*-marriage goes back to a theological interpretation of an ancient decision in the above-mentioned sense which seemed to be imposed by the changes in custom and views. It is noteworthy that in the apocryphal Pahlavi work of the last century, the so-called *Vičarkart i dēnik*² (Vd.), the *čakar*-wife (here called *čakar žan*) of the prophet *Zarađuštra* is mentioned as a widow, the name of whose first husband is supposed to have been *Mihrayār*, Vd. 22. 8f.³ The passage of the *Bundahišn*, on which the information of the author of the Vd. regarding the family affairs of *Zarađuštra* is based, GrBd. 235. 15, Bd. 80. 1 ff. = 32. 6 f., does not contain anything

¹ i.e. collections of traditions related to religious subjects, compiled in Persian, which are not older than the last decades of the XV century; v. West GlPh. I, 125 ff. and Rosenberg, Notice de Littérature Parsie (St. Petersburg, 1909), 37 ff.

² Cf. M. P. Madan, Actes du XII^e Congrès internat. des orientalistes (Rome), I, 218, who frankly admits the apocryphal character and the late origin of the above work.

³ Jackson's statement, Zoroaster 20: ".....the latter (wife of Zoroaster) is said to have been a widow" is based exactly on that source, and only on it.

of the kind.¹ For the author of the *Bundahišn*, a work dating from the period after the Arab invasion, and obviously the more so for the Sasanian period, the *čakar*-wife (*žan i čakar*) is nothing but a concubine,² a secondary wife with only limited rights allotted both to herself and her children, occupying a place after the *pātaxšāh*-wife, the chief-wife enjoying full rights and mistress of the house (195/919 *katak-bānūk*). Only a chief wife has the claim for lifelong maintenance by the husband; see MhD. 32. 12 f.







॥ अ० १०० ॥ अ० १०० ॥ अ० १०० ॥ अ० १०० ॥

اوسى اۋ + كۈرۈ + و - لۈم - س³ - سۈلۈك |

pus tāk purnāy barēt dux̄t tāk sōd kunēt žan
tāk živandak ān i patax̄sāhīhā³ x̄arišn u dārišn “the
son is, until he comes of age, the daughter until she takes
a husband, the wife as long as she lives,—(i.e.) the chief
wife,—to be fed and maintained”. As far as the children
of the čakar-wife are concerned, it is only the male

1 The statement made by de Harlez, Avesta XXXI; "Ses (that is, *Zarathuštra's*) trois épouses sont nommées Cagar, Padokhsa et Hrovi" rests on a ghastly misunderstanding of the corresponding passage in the Bd.

2 West, SBE. 5.323, has correctly recognized and recorded it, saying: "...make it more probable that a concubine is meant", but he did not keep to that point of view, as shown by his note SBE. 18.185 and by the translation "serving wife", *ibid.* 189.

3 Literally: "the (wife) of the *pātaxśāh*-kind". In the same way as *pātaxśīhā* is also used attributively *čakarihā* "of the *čakar*-kind" (written ---) but also ---) ; thus MhD. 32. 15, 17 and N. 13.14, 15, where *čakarihā* appears as definition of *pit* "father", *pus u duxi* "son and daughter", *frazand* "children", *apurnāyik* "a child under age".

What the word **چاکر** *čakar* really means (the Pāzandist of the Bundahišn reads **چنگور** *čugur*, see **Antia** Pazand Texts (Bombay 1909), 57.17, 20) can hardly even be established. The Modern Persian Parsi texts have either **چکر** *čakar*, e.g., the Saddar Naṣr, ch. 54; see the Bombay (1909) edition, p. ۳۹, mostly, however, **چاکر** *čakar*, for which the dictionaries give the meaning “servant, maid”.² Thereon is based **West’s** translation of *čakar* by “serv-ing wife” or “handmaid”: see, however, preceding page note 2. It seems to me that the substitution of *čakar* for *čakar* can be most probably traced back to some popular etymology, arising from the antitheses between **چاکر** *čakar* and **چاکر** *čakar* *žan i pātəxšāhīhā*, which is associated with *pātəxšāh* “sovereign” (etc.), and **چاکر** *čakar* *žan i čakar*. Taken together *čakar* and *čakar* give the impression of duplicate formations; yet, their etymological homogeneity is not proved thereby. **West’s** translation of Dd. 62.5 (Cod. Havn. Zend. 35, fol. ۱۷۹ v., 8), where we find **چاکر** in SBE. 18.195, seems to me utterly uncertain.

[illegible]

2 The word is undoubtedly found in Gabri (ZDg.), see ZDMG.
36 66

The noun **𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥** *sardār* (literally, "the one who stands at the head, **princeps**"), as well as the corresponding abstract noun **𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** *sardārīh* ("principatus"), are very frequently used in the MhD. And, indeed, the meaning of *sardār*, as a term of jurisprudence, is "the holder of power", the person wielding in any domain some kind of "**potestas**" (*sardārīh*). The chief rôle belongs to the family-power (**𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** *sardārīh i dūtak*) i.e., according to the Roman juridical designation, the "**patria potestas**" and the "**manus**"; see *infra*, p. 21.16 ff. —By reason of what special meaning here and 3.12 (see under 2) *sardār* is connected with *pātāxšāh*, does not seem clear to me. The rendering of the adjectival *pātāxšāh* through "empowered" seems to me to be everywhere appropriate. The word is mostly found with some supplementary infinitive or supplementary subordinate sentence, by which it is more closely defined, upon what particular subject that power extends.¹ Instead of the adjective, the adverbial expression *pātāxšāhīhā* is also often used, especially, with a negation: *apāt°* "unempoweredly, without being entitled (to)"; cf. p. 25. 1.7. Different again is the turn of phrase p. 19. 1.9 f and p. 29. 1.22.

2. 3. 15 ff.

𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

¹ Empowered to do such and such thing or not to do it.

۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱
 ۱ [۱۱۱۱] ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱
 ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱
 ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱
 ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱

*gyāk ē nipišt ku ka mart ē žan hač žanīh hīlēt bē
 ėigōn ān žan pa x'ēs tan sardār [i] pātəxšāh kunēt ēnīhaš
 pa sardārīh ō kas nē + dāt + u [ka] ān žan pas hač ān
 + žīvandakān + (.) ān mart šōd kart [u] frazand (u) zāt
 (frazand) ōi frazand [i] ān žan ōi x'ēs kē ān žan pa ān
 ēvənək hač žanīh hīšt [.]*

"In one place it is written : When a man releases the
 wife from matrimony, without making the wife [at the
 same time] fully empowered over her own person, then
 she is not (otherwise) given by him into somebody's
 power. And if that wife afterwards during the life-
 time of that man [again] marries and bears children, then
 these children of the wife belong to him, by whom the
 wife was in that manner released from matrimony".

Of the corrections introduced by me in the text some
 do hardly even require any special mention ; to the latter
 kind belongs also the removal of the punctuation after
 ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ *žīvandakān*. Instead of ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ *sardār*, the
 Ms. has got ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱, instead of ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ we find there
 ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱, a spelling that has become common under the
 influence of the modern pronunciation. Further, instead
 of ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ *zāt* and ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ *dāt*, rather ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱ *zāyēt*

and **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣** *dahēt*—the present tense instead of the preterite—, with the so often occurring in the case of verbs written ideogramatically **𐎠** instead of **𐎡** at the end. The **𐎠𐎡** *ka* supplemented at the beginning of the second sentence could of course have been dispensed with. Of importance are only two alterations: (1) the cancelling of the second **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣** *frazand*: the confusion arises from the fact that the copyist had to begin a new page in the middle of a sentence; (2) the restoration of **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣** *x^eš* for **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣** *žan*: the copyist has absent-mindedly repeated the preceding (last but one) very similarly looking **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣**. Exactly the same mistake occurs 27.12: **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 *žan i žan*, instead of **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 *žan i x^eš*, and in 12.13, see p. 25 l.6.

The meaning of the passage, which belongs to the same chapter as 1, is: A wife released by the husband from the bonds of matrimony without special stipulations remains under his authority (*sardārīh*, see p. 9 l. 1 ft.), so that the children (*frazand*, "**proles**"), borne by her in a new matrimony, become his property.¹

⁹ I am availing myself of the opportunity in order to record a remarkable passage found in MhD. 1.2 ff.:
 འཇིག་རྟོན་དང་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱུ་ལྡན་པའི་སྤྲུལ་སྦྱོར་གླིང་། དཀོན་མཆོག་གི་སྤྲུལ་སྦྱོར་གླིང་། ་
 རྩལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་སྦྱོར་གླིང་། གཞུང་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་སྦྱོར་གླིང་། ་
 བཅོམ་ཉེན་པོའི་སྤྲུལ་སྦྱོར་གླིང་། འཛམ་གླིང་གི་སྤྲུལ་སྦྱོར་གླིང་། ་
gōwēnd ku tāk x'atāḏih vahram martomān
añśahrīk ān x'eš barqei i hač pitar ztyūti nē ān i hač māt; ē rād
tē sōśāns guft ku vačak pit x'eš u nūn gōwēnd ku māt. The text
in its present form is certainly not free from mistakes. If I understand it correctly, it deals with the right of inheritance with regard to the family-slave. I translate: "They say: Up to the reign"

...
otherwise.....not": a frequent combination. Cf. **Salemann**, MPGr. 119 1.7, where the second word is read *anyā* (with?), and fragment 18 ff. (in § 56, 81 f., 90, 109), where it is read *ēnā* on the hypothesis of a possible spelling **𐬀𐬢𐬀**. I do not know any such **𐬀𐬢𐬀** and call in question its correctness. In any case the spelling of the word is **𐬀𐬢𐬀**, on which also was based the Pāzand-spelling **𐬀𐬢𐬀** cited by **Salemann**, Parsenhds. 82, line 13. Yet, along with **𐬀𐬢𐬀**, there must have existed with the same meaning also **𐬀𐬢𐬀** (*anīh*). The copyists have read that word *andā*, have seen in it the Pāzand word **𐬀𐬢𐬀** *andā* "up to", and substituted for it in their texts the ideogram of the latter **𐬀𐬢𐬀**. Thus Mx. 62.

21: 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 . . . 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀
 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬀
u pa ān dašt bē yōrtāk u.....ēnīh
an.....dract u urvar nēst "and on that plain there are,
 except corn and.....no other.....trees and plants"; in the
 Pāzand text we find for 𐬀𐬢𐬀, in fact, **𐬀𐬢𐬀**

of *Vahrām* the slaves became the property of him, who descends from the father, not of him who descends from the mother. To that applies what *Sošāns* has said: 'The child is the property of the father'; and now they say: 'of the mother'." There are several Sasanian kings of the name of *Vahrām*; the first one reigned about 270, the last about 430 A.D. I could not say, which of them is meant in our passage. The scholar quoted here of the name of *Sošāns*, who plays also an important rôle as a commentator of the Avesta, might have lived in the second half of the third century.

where $\frac{1}{2} \frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{2} \frac{d}{dt} \right)$. Further MhD. 2. 17 f.: $\frac{1}{2} \frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{2} \frac{d}{dt} \right)$

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

139-140 *vičur i pēšak sardārān kartan bē pa framān i dēhapatān ēnīh nē šāyēt* "a decision of the chiefs of the guilds¹ cannot be revoked except by the order of the sovereign".

I am inclined to derive the termination *-ih* in **𐭮𐭥𐭩** *enih* (the above mentioned Pāzand word **𐭮𐭥𐭩** *hinī* must be taken into consideration for the reading) from the ancient *-iathā*, which is the termination of modal adverbs from adjectives ending in *-iā-*; the termination *-ih* grown up in accordance with the phonetic laws may have spread in the same way, as the adjectival termination *-ik*, which can be traced back to *-iaka**; cf. for its phonetical part **Bartholomae**, IF. 23.45 f., 70 f., for the adverbial suffix (Præ-Iran.-*θa*) **GIPh.** 1a. 142 (5). The usual adverbial termination in Book-Pahlavi *-ihā* (**𐭮𐭥𐭩**) contains most probably the same *-ih*; for the definition of the final *ā* one has also to take into consideration the **MPT.** adverbs ending in *-ihāh*—e.g. *šādihāh* along with *šādihā*; cf. **Bartholomae**, Zum AirWb. 47, note 1, also **Salemann**, MPGr. 51 (21).

ژېواندکڼ آن مارت, "vivo illo
homine": an unusual absolute turn of sentence. We
find in a similar context with the same verbal noun

ژيانده کڼه *živandakān pit* "during the lifetime of

1 Apparently the name of a certain kind of tribunal.

"the father", 16.3; 61.7; 69.10, and 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *živandakān farroḫ* "during the lifetime of F." 108. 10.¹ Somewhat more frequent is the absolute construction with the conceptional opposite of *živandakān*, i.e., with *vitart* "mortuus"; thus, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *vitart man*, "mortuo me", "after my death", MhD. 20.6; 106.6; both passages are dealing with testamentary dispositions; further: 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *vitart pit* "after the death of the father"; 24.1; 29.10; 69.13; 94.8; 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *vitart ān mart* "mortuo illo homine", 97.10; 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *vitart farroḫ*, "after the death of F." 29.4; 58.15; 97.3; 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *vitart ōšān*, "mortuis illis", 47.15; 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *vitart katak x'atād* "after the death of the landlord", 29.8; 45.8; (where the first word is written 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥) finally, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *vitart stūr i kart* "after the death of the appointed guardian"³ 21.11. The same idea, as is expressed in the last-quoted passage through an absolute participle-combination, is rendered two lines lower (21.13) through a conjunctive sentence, as follows: 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *ka stūr i kartak pa baḫt šavēt* (or *šut*²), "when the appointed guardian³ goes off (or "is

1 In the Mss. there stands everywhere 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, see above p. 10. 24.

2 𐭠𐭣 instead of 𐭠𐭣 at the end; v. *supra* p. 10 1.27.

3 About *stūr* see below p. 38, note 1.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 (mostly written without the diacritical signs; with similar signs as here also MhD. 3. 13; 9. 15; 83. 4). I read it (following the spelling to which none of the readings suggested up to the present do justice) *ēvēnak*. The original meaning of the word is "appearance", further "form, manner", etc. It is, therefore, connected with MPB. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *vēnišn*, "**visus**", MPT. *vēn*, Pers. *bīn* "see", as Fr. Müller, WZKM. 4. 355, was the first to point out. Along with *ēvēn(ak)* there have co-existed two more words of the same meaning, namely: (1) *āvēn(-ak)*, which is merely a combination with another prefix¹; I discover it in the Pāzand word 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *avinā*, Bd. 29.14=14.11, in which, it is true, the marks of quantity have somehow miscarried²; it would have been correct to write 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *āvina*; GrBd. 95. 6 has got 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, which would be *āvēnāk* (instead of *āvēnak*); (2) *ādēn(ak)*, with the same prefix as *āvēn(ak)*, but with the initial (*ā*) of the supplementary stem, which is, for instance, contained in the MPT. Infinitive *dīdan* "to

1 Such differences are certainly not unfrequent; cf., e.g. MPB. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *ēvāč* (thus Dk. V 2.9; 5. 6 etc.) along with 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *āvāč* = Pers. آواز *āvāz*; MPB. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *ēvar*, along with Pers. آور, and many others; see for it Salemann, Bruchstück, 25 (1).

2 The bird called here 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *sin i sō avinā* is called 57. 13 and 59. 9: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *sin i sō ēvēnak*; but Gr. Bd. 121.3 and 122.14 there stands similarly as 95.6 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥. Asana has in his PahlDict. 953 a word 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 in the meaning of "a good mode, manner" and 955 a word 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, with the meaning "a good practice, way, mode". He reads the former *hū-gūn* and the latter *hū-gūné*. One would be inclined to see therein the above cited Pāzand word. But Asana's statements cannot be relied upon.

see" for the Imperative *vēn* "see"; I find it in the MPB. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** *bačakādēn* AVN. 17. 15, which West, Gl. and Ind. 77, renders through "inaccustomed"; **Asana**, PahlDict. 516, 528, gives **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** and **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** with the meaning "custom"; we further encounter the word as borrowed word in the Arm. **արեն** *arēn* at the end of compounds, for which see **Hubschmann**, IFAnz. 8. 47 f. In Modern Persian *ādēn(ak)* is represented through آئینه *āyīn*, آئینه *āyīna* "institution, custom; manner",* but, owing to the -*vē*- having changed into -*yē*- which has been discussed by me in the Zum AirWb. 73 f., the same Pers. words contain also MPB. *āvēn(ak)*; the fusion had taken place in Sasanian times; the *āyēn* which then came into existence has been preserved by **Sebeos** in certain official titles like **շահրայենպետ** *šahrayenpet*; see **Hubschmann**, Arm Gr. 1. 59, IFAnz. 8. 47.¹

* The meaning of the author is not clear: both the traditional reading of the word *airīnak* and the reading *ainīnak* (suggested by **Salemann**) fully cover the spelling. The Persian آئین and آینه are certainly not two different forms of the same word and the latter never means anything but "looking-glass, mirror", and only the former (Sanskrit अयन) has all the abstract meanings given here by the author. It, therefore, seems to me that the prevailing confusion is based on the occasional coincidence in sound and spelling of two absolutely different words, which have nothing in common with each other either in meaning or in origin, the word *āyīn* (Skr. *ayana*) "way, path, manner" being obviously connected with the Sanskrit root i- "to go", whereas *āyīnah* "looking-glass" could be plausibly explained from the root MP. *vēn*, Pers. *bīn*.—*The Translator*.

1 The word for "mirror" in Pers. آئینه *āyīna* is the same as آئینه "custom" etc. The two conceptions—cf. *species* and *speculum*—are closely related. The Bal. word for "mirror" *ādēn*, *ādēnk* points by

3. 4. 13 f.

۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱
 ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱
 ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱
 ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱

žan x'āstak iš šōd andar žanīh dāt kaš šōd pa x'ar-sandīh hač žanīh bē hišt bē nē barēt pa šōd bē mānēt.

"The wife takes not the property which had been given to her by the husband during matrimony as long as she is being released from [the bonds of] matrimony by the husband with her assent,—it remains with the husband".



The passage, which is taken from the same chapter as Nos. 1 and 2, does not require any special explanations. I only may note, that the important part played by ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ *x'arsandīh* "satisfaction, self-content", with the further meaning "agreement, assent" of the wife, namely at the dissolution of matrimony, is also prominent in other passages,—4.1 ff.=87.3 ff. we find: ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱



۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱
 ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱ ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱۱



its *ā* to the MPB *āḍēn(ak)*, and *Asana*, PahlDict. 520, cites a word ۱۳۱۱۱۱۱ "mirrors", that could be read *āḍēnīhā*. The word appears usually, however, in the shape (۱۳)۱۳۱۱, i.e. *ēvēn(ak)*, e.g. Šv. 5. 73 (with the Pāzand reading ۱۳۱۱۱۱ *āīnaa*) and in *Asana's* PahlDict. 624 ff., where ۱۳۱۱۱۱ (*ēvēnīhā*) "mirrors", and ۱۳۱۱۱۱ (*ēvēnak*) "mirror", are recorded.




6.2 ff.: "If the plaintiff says: This piece of property belonged to *Āturfarnbag*, from *Āturfarnbag* it went over to *Mihryōn*, from *Mihryōn*, it went over to myself and is my property, and *Farroa*" has got it in his possession without authority". The same three names—*A.*, *M.* and *F.* will recur again and again.

" ۱۹۵۵ *zyānak*: thus in conformity with *Neryosang's* reading ۱۹۵۵ *zyānaa* for Šv. 14. 67, whereas *West* finally suggested SBE. 47.111 the reading *zihānak*, most certainly only in order to be able to connect this word with the Pers. *zihādan* = زایدان *zāyīdan* "gignere". That, however, in itself has little value; besides, the correctness of the traditional reading is warranted by ZDg. *ziūna* (*zīvūna*, *zīvūnī*); see ZDMG. 35. 379; 36. 65, 75.—The word is not at all rare. I note for it, besides, the following passages: MhD. 32. 5 f.; 37. 5; 44. 5; 45. 6, 8; 50. 8 ff.; 64. 4 f.; 65. 13; 95. 8; 102. 5; 103. 11 f.; GrB. 228. 11 (=Bd. 77. 7, where it is wrongly written ۱۹۵۵); N. (Tahm.) 23.8; Dk. VII. 95. 1; Kn. 135. 138 f.; PV. 5. 49; 3. 25. In the latter passage ۱۹۵۵ is used to render the JAv. ۱۹۵۵ *vantaoe* (see my AirWb. 1355). *Neryosang* renders in Šv. 14.67 the word through ۱۹۵۵ *kalatram* "spouse"; he uses the same noun also when translating ۱۹۵۵ *žan*; and in fact, no difference can be perceived in the meaning of the two words in the above cited passage of Šv., where they both occur simultaneously. The Gabri words (*supra*, line 14) mean nothing else but "woman".—The fact that the word ۱۹۵۵ appears in many a passage in a striking connection with

instead of  it has got , the horizontal stroke having been forgotten; see for it **Salemann, ManStud.** 1. 158, note.

The passage is taken from the "Chapter on Legal Proceedings", which occupies the space from 10.11 to 15. 1,  *dar i*—?. I have not yet come across the word, for which I could not suggest any satisfactory reading, anywhere except in the MhD. Here it occurs about 30 times and is in any case meant to designate some institute of the Sasanian jurisdictional system. In the majority of cases it is followed upon, as above, by the verb  *bavēt*, literally "it happens"; thus also 7. 12; 10. 13, 15; 11. 3, 4, 8, 14, 17; 12. 2, 12; 15. 5, 6; further, besides, 7.14, where another form of the same verb is used in conformity with the hypothetical turn of the sentence. Several times it is immediately preceded by the complaint, as uttered by the plaintiff.

When the claim of the plaintiff ( *pēšēmār*), was met with by the defendant ( *pasēmār*), then, of course, the matter was settled by mutual agreement. Otherwise, a legal decision in the case became necessary. A proposal to settle it in the latter way could have been made not only by the plaintiff, but equally also by the defendant. When the latter (the less frequent) case is dealt with in the MhD., then the definition

 *hač pasēmār* is added to the word  "proceedings in court", in the sense "from (by the proposal of) the defendant", thus 7. 14; 11.8, 14; 12. 2, 17, or else merely  *i pasēmār* "of the defendant", thus 14. 12.

MhD. 9. 14 ff.. such falling back (𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥) *vartēnītan*) can concern in a real action: (1) the time — 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hangām*—, at which, (2) the (former) lawful owner— 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *dastawar*—, from whom, and (3) the way and manner— 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *čē ēvēnak*—, in which the object in dispute came into possession.¹ In dealing with a criminal

• 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ka pēs dāstawarān gōwēt ku man hač ān mart i nāmčīstik—?—* dužd kart u ān žamān duždūt man dārom aparči ošān i upārik pa gōkākīh šāyēt čēs ān gōwišn nē pa nīrmat i ošēs guft; ka gōwēt kumān dužd kart u ān žamān duždūt ošān i apārik dārend apar ošān apārik pa gōkākīh nē šāyēt čēs ān gōwišn pa nīrmat i ošēs guft.* “When he states before the judges: ‘I have once committed with regard to a certain other man a theft, and what was stolen at that time I have in my possession’, then he is capable of giving evidence also for other things, because that statement was not made in his own interest; if he [however] states: ‘We have committed a theft and what was stolen at that time is in the possession of the other [parties concerned in the theft]’, then he is not fit to give evidence for other things, because that statement was made in his own interest”.

1 Only the two first cases are substantiated by examples. They are as follows: (1) “If he [the accused] says: ‘A year ago did [the thing] come in my possession from *Mihryōn*’....., and then says: ‘Two years ago’.....”; (2) If he [the accused] says: ‘[The thing] was *Farroḡ*’s property, and was given by him to me.....’, [and] then says: ‘It was *Mihryōn*’s property and by him’”.

* How is 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 “antiquitus” to be read? See also MhD. 9. 6; 16. 2; 18.11, 14. 28.14; 60.10; 86.3. The St. Petersburg—Frahang transcribes 87.3 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, which is certainly incorrect; Šv. translates in Pazand 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xāmast*, e.g. 4. 76, 89; 16. 8, 96, guided by which *Salemann*, Bruchstück, 18, reads, it is true not without misgivings, *hāmist*. Is that word contained in the 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 of N. 12. 23? Then the above mentioned 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 would be merely a corrupted form of the same.



𐬨𐬀 (also 𐬨𐬀𐬌, e.g. MhD. 1.5): I read it *žahm* and consider it to be the same word as 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀 and 𐬨𐬀𐬌 in another spelling (e.g. AVN. 5.13; N. 74. 18, 21; DkB. 82. 7), whereat the 𐬨 (t) in it is to be regarded in the same way as in 𐬨𐬀𐬌 *mīhr*, 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀 *šahr* etc.; cf. West, SBE. 37. 37 and Salemann, MPGr. 21, 54. The word can be traced back to Avestan and Præ-Iranian **jaθma* i.e. "blow", AI. हन्ति *hānti* = JAv. 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬌 *jaīnti*, and takes its origin in the ancient juridical language. That origin might also explain the unusual *x* in the corresponding Persian word زخم *zaxm*.

سـدـر : I read that word *ēraxt* and translate it "guilty", but I have to confess, that I am not wholly certain of its correctness both as regards the reading and the translation. Cf. thereto **Bartholomae**, IF. 12. 111 ff. and **Salemann**, Bruchstück, 25, also **West**, Avesta..... Studies, 1. 188. I fail to see any possibility of actually bringing together to a common basis all the different words, that seem to be homogeneous both phonetically and as regards their meaning. It almost seems, as if the shoots of a "root" with *aⁿi* and another with *aⁿ* were entangled pell-mell with each other. I read *ēraxt* because

the word is mostly spelt سـدـر thus MhD. 7.8; 8.7; 9.3, 15; 10.2, 7, 9, 10; 11.2, 4, 7, 9, 15; 83.15; 97.15; 102.8; GAb. 9.2, 4; GrBd. 231.3, further PY. in Y. 31.3, 19; 47.6; 51.9 in **Spiegel's** edition¹—, because the Judeo-Persian texts contain it in the form אֵרֶאֱחַ *ēraxtaḥ* (see **de Lagarde**, Pers. Stud. 71), and, finally, in conformity with the Pāzand form in the GAb. אֵרֶאֱחַ *ērāxt*.²

But the spelling سـدـر is also encountered, which seems to point to *ērīxt*—thus once 9.2, also in the MhD.—,³ and with it there again coincides the Pāzand reading of Šv. אֵרֶאֱחַ *ērāxt*. As the original meaning of the

1 **Spiegel** has, obviously by mistake, سـدـر.

2 A word *airākht* is recorded by **West**, SBE. 5.394; he translates it "uninjured", which is incomprehensible for me. I am not acquainted with the text of the original, but I presume that here, as frequently also in other places (see further below), *ēraxt* and *buxt* are used in opposition to each other.

3 I consider, however a simple confusion with אֵרֶאֱחַ = (1) *rišt* "injured" and (2) *rēxt* "spilt", to be very much possible.

verb, there certainly could be accepted "to declare convicted and guilty, **damnare, condemnare**"; *ēraxt* would in that case be "convicted, declared guilty, condemned; guilty; laden with crime; damned"; the latter meaning is attached to the Judeo-Persian word. Not seldom is *ēraxt* also used as the opposite to **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩** *buxt*¹, for which cf. Horn, NpEt. 270, Hübschmann, ArmGr. I. 222, Salemann. Man Stud. 1. 60. It seems to me, that the meaning "declared guilty, condemned" would fit here very well in opposition to "acquitted of guilt, absolved". Important for ascertaining the meaning of it is also the passage MhD. 97. 13 ff., which runs as follows:—

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 *ka pa stūrīh vimārt u*
pas hač vimārtan pa markaržān varōmand kart būt kē
guft ku ān stūrīh bē kanišn u an mart i sačāktar bē
vimārišn u būt kē guft ku nē kanišn, ka pa markaržān
ēraxt adakaš x'āstak i ast hačāš apār, i.e. "When he is

1 One ought to take also into consideration the proper nouns MPS, *yandānbuxt* and MPB, *yazatānēraxt* (*yandānēraxt*, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩, GrBd. 231.3), i.e. "absolved by God" and "condemned by God", the latter being a name of abuse applied to one of the sons of *Frāspār* see West, SBE. 5. 135 (incorrect Justi, NB. 146).

which also 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ēranjēnišn*, 8. 7; 9. 8; 102. 11, 12.—It is worth while to note, that the verb appears, exactly in the same way, as the Lat. **damnare** and **condemnare**, also in the sense of “to have condemned, to carry through the sentence”, when it is used by the plaintiff with regard to the accused; thus MhD. 9. 3 ff.:

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
 [𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥] 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

ka pasēmār pa vaštak sox'anīh ēranjēnēt u pas padtāk bavēt ku pēšēmār dātastān [i] drōy x'āst pēšēmār x'āstak iš hač pasēmār bē grift + apāk + bar iš burt.....ō pasēmār dahišn, i.e. “If he [the plaintiff] brings the accused by means of a false statement to conviction, and then it becomes evident that the plaintiff has obtained a wrong decision, then the plaintiff has to hand over to the accused the money received from the accused with the interest accumulated on it”. And thus also GAb. 9. 2, where at the end of the religious discussion *Māmūn* and the rest of the audience exclaim addressing *Abālīš*

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *šav čēt ēraxtan nē tuvān* “begone! for thou canst not carry through the conviction”, i.e. thou canst not obtain that we should declare thy opponent to be defeated, as thou wouldst have it”.

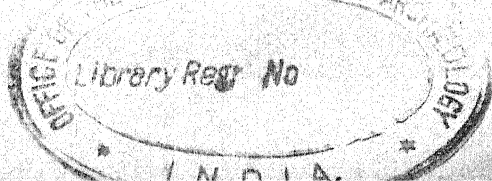
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NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ZOROASTRIAN CALENDAR.¹

By E. CAVAIGNAC.

*Translated by Homi D. Banaji, Esqr., B.A., LL.B.,
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Thucydides (VIII, 58) gives the text of the third treaty concluded between the satraps of Darius II and the Spartans with such precision that the treaty dates itself close to some weeks—it is of January 411. Now it is dated as of the 13th year of Darius II. The historians of Greece record it without objections. However the date can be made out from it: it is generally believed that the first year of Darius II runs from "Nisan"² (March-April) 423 to "Nisan" 422; his 19th and last year, from "Nisan" 405 to "Nisan" 404. His 13th year therefore began only in March-April 411. Even if we suppose that he antedated his event by "Nisan" 424, effacing the ephemeral reigns of Xerxes II and Sogdien, nothing more can be explained than that the royal lists for him at least reckoned only 19 years. The difficulty seems to be inextricable.

That is so in fact, if we take it for certain that the Kings of Persia followed the Babylonian computation. (Cf. Prasek, in *Hilprechts Anniversary Volume 1909*). That is a hypothesis which suggests itself for the origins

¹ I beg to thank Mr. Homi D. Banaji for kindly complying with my request to translate Mr. E. Cavaignac's article entitled "Note sur l'Origine du Calendrier Zoroastrien," 1 *Journal Asiatique*, tome 20 n. (Janvier-Mars 1923, pp. 106-10.)—Editor.

² Nisan = New year.

of the monarchy. In 521, Darius I still seems, according to the inscription of Behistoun, to admit that the Iranian months coincide exactly with the Babylonian months. But was that the case in 424? Here the structure of the Zoroastrian calendar is invincibly presented to the mind.

We know that the Zoroastrians made use of a special calendar: even at the present day it is still in vogue among them. It was well known and studied in the Middle Ages by the Arabian chronographers. It was the official calendar of the Sassanian monarchy. (Cf. Ginzel, *Handbook of Chronology* I, pages 275 to 309).

The Zoroastrian year consists of 12 months of 30 days each and 5 intercalary days. It is thus a year obviously inaccurate. A system of intercalation, consisting of adding a month every 120 years, prevailed regularly enough, maintaining it in a line with the Julian year.

We see that this calendar is essentially the same as the old Egyptian calendar. Now in the face of such an artificial system, in which the year and the month are completely detached from their natural basis, it is impossible to admit a mere coincidence. At all events the burden of proof would devolve upon him who would admit it; and the proof must be overwhelming.

It remains to be seen when the Iranians could have borrowed this Egyptian calendar. In the 5th century B.C. the borrowing seems probable. In the 4th century, Egypt was separated from the Persian Empire, except during the brief period 343 to 332. After that, Iran had no direct contact with Egypt during the Macedonian period (3rd, 2nd centuries B.C.), the Parthian period (1st century B.C., 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.) and the Sassanian period (3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th centuries). There

was one exception: the generals of Chosroes II in the beginning of the 7th century were during some years masters of Egypt. But at that time the Egyptian calendar was in vogue only among the Coptes, who, moreover, followed a system of intercalation, radically different from that of Iran (a sixth intercalary day every four years). We should therefore leave aside the hypothesis of the borrowing being at such a late date.

It seems to us therefore inevitable to admit that the borrowing of the Egyptian calendar by the Persians took place in the 5th century B.C., even without taking into consideration a text of Quinte-Curce (III, 3, 16), indicating that in the times of Alexander, the Persian year was already of 365 days. How can one explain the borrowing? Since 477, after the repeated revolts of Babylonians and the last repression, that of Xerxes, a strong reaction against Babylonianism seems to have come into existence among the Persians, a reaction from which even the town of Babylon visibly suffered.¹ Besides, in the 5th century, the Persians had for a long time learnt to recognise other civilizations, those of Egypt and Greece: their architecture shows that they borrowed from this domain as many ideas as from old Babylon. It is then but natural that they should have adopted at that time the Egyptian calendar which was much more practical than the Semitic calendar with its system of complicated intercalations. Besides, the change must have coincided with other religious changes, an index of which would be the adopting of a protecting

1 It is even possible that the reform goes further. Herodotus (V, 20) says that Xerxes began his march "at the end of his 5th year." As this departure took place in the autumn of 481, the Persian New Year day must therefore have fallen, since that period, towards December (cf. below).

genius for each month and day as in Egypt.¹ We are thus led to indicate the interest which this little fact here pointed out presents.

We know that the Persian religion can clearly be traced only at the late Arsacide period and the Sassanian period. Of course, numerous elements of this religion come from the Iranian times or further still, but it is difficult to determine their importance: at least for the profane, the Iranian scholars seem to be little agreed on this point. The reason for the hesitations is that between the two periods Persia underwent a long period of foreign rule, first Macedonian and then Parthian, during which time many national traditions must have gone down: thus the Avestic period hardly seems to have retained the memory of the giants of the Archemenide period, Cyrus and Darius. Hence the outbursts of extreme scepticism that we have seen displayed, on the possibility of the Iranian religion to have gone through this long period without any radical change.

If, as I believe, a precise element of the religious tradition, the calendar, has safely crossed the obscure period, the fact must have some consequences. The calendar is always an important document for religious history. A number of beliefs and rights are reflected in it. What are these? It goes without saying that in this matter, those only who have access to original sources, the Iranian scholars, could reply with precision. The only object we had here was to point out the interest of a detail the study of which has often repulsed the specialists of Iranian history,

I believe indeed that there exists a supplementary indication of the Egyptian and Archemenide origin of

¹ Cf. also a curious article of Mr. Murray, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1921 p. 79.

the Avestic calendar. Here I am on ground which is too little known to enable me to press hard the history of the Iranian calendar in the Middle Ages. I think, however, I must indicate the hypothesis.

The Arabian writers testify that in the year 448 of the era of Yezdegerd, they had the equation:

$$19 \text{ Ferwerdin} = 15 \text{ March } 1079.$$

They add that since the fall of the Sassanians, the Iranian calendar continued without intercalations, and that in 632 the 1st Ferwerdin fell on the 16th June. For that period we can trust them.

According to these very writers, in the time of the Sassanians, there prevailed the system of intercalations that we have already pointed out (one month in every 120 years): the intercalary month was not always the same, it advanced every year at every intercalation, and in 632 it was in the 8th month (Aban). They were still well informed concerning this period, when they conclude, for instance, that the intercalation had already taken place eight times and continued thus regularly to the Archemenide period, it becomes difficult to follow them. (Cf, however, Ginzler *loc. cit.*, p. 296). Besides the calculation would lead us precisely to the 5th century B.C. But I think I must resist the temptation of utilizing this for our thesis.

The Zoroastrian calendar became the official calendar in Iran only with the Sassanians (226 A.D.), because the Arsacides have followed the Macedonian "eunéakaidékétéride." In the 3rd century, the Iranians, compulsorily recognised the Roman year, and it is quite natural, that they rectified theirs. If they at first added the intercalation after the sixth month (like the Babylonians, the Athenians, etc.), then, for religious reasons,

adopted the rotation of the intercalary month, it is normal that in 632 they were, by reason of such intercalation, in the 8th month.

In 226, the 1st Ferversin, therefore fell already in June. Prior to that, it is most natural to admit that the old calendar was in vogue in the mountains of Persia as in the times of the Archemenides, without any intercalation. And at that time the new year day (I do not say the 1st Ferversin, because it is more than probable that the old names of the months, the names of Behistoun, still existed), the new year day, in the 5th century fell in December. *It is exactly the time when the Egyptian year at that period began.* And it could be explained in the same way how the Sassanian new year day had been brought to coincide with the month of June, a period singular enough from the very first.

I could not help pointing out this remarkable coincidence. But let us come to the point: the adaptation of the Iranian national calendar to a date anterior to 424 B.C., not according to the Babylonian computation, but according to the Egyptian computation, with the new year day in December. Then Darius II made his first year commence, not in "Nisan" 423, but in December 424, and his 13th year consequently in December 412. And the treaty of Thucydides, which is of January 411, is in its proper place.

A FEW LEGAL POINTS FROM THE MĀDĪGĀN- I HAZĀR DĀDISTĀN

Relating to

THE FOUNDATION AND MANAGEMENT OF HOLY TEMPLES,
SERVANTS DEDICATED TO THE SERVICE OF THE TEMPLES,
BENEFITS RESULTING TO THEIR FOUNDERS, RESPONSIBILI-
TIES IN RESPECT OF HANDING OVER FOUNDATIONS RELATED
THERETO, PERSONAL AND FAMILY PROPERTY, PENALTIES FOR
SORCERY AND HERESY, RAISING STATUS OF WIFE AND
CHILD, INSTRUMENTS GIVING VALIDITY TO ADOPTION, ETC.

BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE ENGLISH
TRANSLATION OF THE WORK

BY SOHRAB JAMSHEDJI BULSARA, ESQR., M.A.

[During my study of the reign of Khusru Parviz for my paper entitled "Eighteen remarkable Things or Events of the Reign (593-628 A.C.) of Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II) of Persia"¹, I had requested Mr. Sohrab Jamshedji Bulsara, the learned translator of the Mādīgān-i Hazār Dādistān to kindly send me extracts relating to certain matters. He had kindly done so. I give here with the kind permission of the translator, the extracts as it will take some time to publish his complete translation. I do so in the hope that students of Khusru's reign may find them interesting, as this great work seems to have been compiled during his reign.—EDITOR.]

¹ Journal B.B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II (N.S.), No. 2, pp. 111-137. Vide my "Asiatic Papers", Part IV, pp. 19-45.

CHAPTER XLII

On Miscellaneous Correlated Opinions

42. (a) And it has been said that during the sovereignty of His Celestial Majesty Khâsrôê, the son of Kavât, a person whose name was Kakah and a person whose name was Âtrô-Tôkhm had a common landed property with an idol temple (on it). So with the command and direction of the Master of Divinity they pulled down the idol temple there, and set up on it (instead) a Column of the Holy Flame.

(b) Now when they made an application to the Department of the Executive in respect of the Column of the Holy Flame, the land (was assigned) without a questioning from Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm, to the Column of the Holy Flame, and an order (was issued) to ensure the guardianship of Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm and their children and descendents over it.

(c) (Accordingly) Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm consecrated that Column of the Holy Flame to the Temple of the Holy Triumph, and till Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm were alive, Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm were holding that temple under guardianship; but after the decease of Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm, Bôrzak who was the Master of Divinity in Artakhsht-Khoreh, so ordered that according to the proper rule of action that Temple of the Holy Flame was to be held under the guardianship of *all* the children and descendants, even including those born of daughters, of those Kakah and Âtrô-Tôkhm who had set up (that Temple); whereas the order of Vât-Ayîbâr was that Dât-Farrokhô who was the son of Dât-Aûhar-mazd, and the Jurisconsult for Opinions, was of this opinion that if those who had set up that Temple of the Holy Flame had given no instructions as to the guardian-

ship of that Temple, then, in so far as it had been set up by Kakah, the guardianship was to be with the best eldest of all the children and descendants of Kakah, and, in so far as it had been consecrated by Âtrō-Tōkhm, with (the best eldest) of all the children and descendants of Âtrō-Tōkhm, and (accordingly) an instrument was to be prepared and signed and sealed (to that effect).

43. Alongside it has been said that as to a property, regarding which there might be an order about its having been assigned by a person for (his) benefit and ownership, while it can be held by such person (or his) children and descendants for (their) benefit and ownership, and they can develop and cultivate it as their own, that person can, at the same time, also hold that property quite distinctly from (his) children, and it can be as lawful (for him) to grant it away (to any one) as any other (personal) property (of his own); and one would be free from (all) responsibility when one would contend that a property which had been appropriated by parents that way, could not be demanded back, inasmuch as it should be only such as might (already) have been settled on the children which could be ordered to be restored on its having been appropriated by the parents.

44. And it has been said that when one declares so as to say: "I have assigned the property (so as to belong) to the daughter on the Fravartikân Days, dedicated to the Holy Spiritual Essences, within the year of its purchase", then on (his) having purchased it (even) during the five days commencing with the day of the Ahunavaiti Gāthā, it shall belong to the daughter (during the same Fravartikân days).

45. Alongside it has been written in the same treatise, on the same documentary evidence, and even in

accordance with the opinion of the Grand Master of Divinity, and on the command of the King of Kings, that although Yazdkart had lived in the earlier fifties of the tenth century (of the Ninth Millennium), still also the sovereignty of His Celestial Majesty Anûshak-Rûbân (of Immortal Fame), as well as all our immediate forefathers (must be taken to) fall in the same century. And (hence) although also Hûdât and Farnbag and Âtrô-Bûjît lived in the latter fifties (of that century), they must rightly be assigned to the same century with Âtrôpât, the son of Zartôsht. Whereas when anything has been noted specially about the "earlier fifties", that reference must then be taken to have been made just to that (entire period which runs) up to the commencement of the "latter" (fifties).

46. It has been said that as regards a property which a sorcerer may have at the time they are attesting to his sorcery before the Spiritual Lord, when there are those to whom he has caused hurt, it shall pass on to such to whom he may have caused hurt; whereas when they have been giving witness about it, and it cannot be ascertained as to against which party he committed crime, then (it shall pass on) to the witnesses, and the sorcerer (shall be spared his) life.

47. Alongside, it has been made manifest from warranted Castellan Orders and the Gazette of Orders for Special Functions in the Provinces, that when a property (is to be confiscated) for a teaching of heresy or for a belief in heresy, (such) property shall be made over to the Imperial Government.

48. And it has been said that it might be allowed if a Temple of the Holy Flame were set up out of the gift

assigned for marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness. And indeed when that has been set up, he who assigned the property as gift for marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness, must not be considered to have had the benefit of marriage in that condition lost to him (thereby).

49. Alongside it has been declared that as in the case of the gift of Dât-Gôshnasp, the son of Shatrôî-zât, that (sort of gift) might (also) be arranged in a definite way; and as authenticated by the opinion of Vakhshapâhar, the Grand Master of Divinity, under his hand and seal, in the declaration of Dât-Gôshnasp it has so been written as to say: "I have set up a Temple of the Holy Flame dedicated to the Holy Triumph; and I have granted this property to the Temple of the Holy Flame as being the property assigned for my marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness and to be held as belonging to the Temple of the Holy Flame".

50. Alongside, according to Mahraspand who was the Spiritual Lord, in the case of a man who had settled this way: "I have set up a Temple of the Holy Flame, dedicated to the Holy Triumph, in my family", he might be taken to have (had gained the benefit as of having) been assigned a wife in the condition pertaining to barrenness (by that means).

51. And it has been said that when a servant attached to the Temple of the Holy Flame, has been relieved of the service of the Temple which is under the control of the Government, owing to his being made free by a person, he could still indeed be (seized) in the name of His Imperial Majesty on committal of a crime by him, (and) made over to the Imperial Authorities and committed by

the Imperial Authorities to (the service of some) other Temple of the Holy Flame (as a penalty for that crime).

52. In this respect it may be noted that in the reign of His Celestial Majesty Vâhrâm, the King of Kings, and son of Yazdakart (the Monarch), Mit-rô-Narsîh, the Grand Minister, had committed (a person) to the service of the Temple of the Holy Flame dedicated to Righteousness the Most Excellent Good, and the Temple of the Holy Flame dedicated to the Imperial Majesty of the Realm. (And) on that commitment he had been held in the service of the Temple of the Holy Flame for several years; but after that, on the command of His Celestial Majesty Yazdakart, the King of Kings, and son of Vâhrâm (the Monarch), he had been made over to the Imperial Authorities on charge of a certain crime, and held in custody by the Imperial Authorities for some years; and after that, on consultation with Mart-Bût who was the Grand Master of Divinity, and other Episcopal Dignitaries as had assembled then, His Celestial Majesty Pîrûzh, the King of Kings, had committed him to the service, not of the same Temple of the Holy Flame, but of the Temple dedicated to the Splendour of Divine Triumph.

53. And it has been declared that on a maiden not being produced by the father or the husband for the service of the Temple of the Holy Flame, and although there might be no fault of hers (therein), still then she ought to be made over to the Imperial Authorities, on (such) default of the father and husband, and in accordance with the Imperial Command.

54. Moreover, with respect to money which should have come from one's wife or adult children in a complete sum for maintaining the office of the Atarvakhsh

(Priest feeding the Holy Flame) or an attendant, on the money not being handed over, the woman as well as the adult child would be (rendered liable for being) made over to the Imperial Authorities notwithstanding no fault whatsoever having been shown by the woman or the adult child (therein).

This law should be observed side by side with the decision which the Jurisconsult for Opinions similarly gave in the case of Kakah and Âtro-Tôkhm, as has been noted above.

55. And it has been said that when one declares so as to say: "I have settled property for marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness, on the woman married in the family in the condition pertaining to barrenness", then there was one who maintained that such assignment cannot be possible, whereas there was one who said that (this) would not be assignment for marriage in the condition pertaining to barrenness (at all), and that the property must return to the family.

56. Moreover, as found in a case of an application at the Court of the Master of Divinity in Artakhshatr-Khoreh to validate that for action, it will have to be held that when one declares with respect to one's wife who is a widow that has married again, and to the child born to such wife, so as to say: "I would accept into the privileged condition the wife and likewise the child", such (mere) declaration must not be regarded as what need be followed out in action.

57. Whereas on the other hand, the statement of Bôrzeh-Âtrô, the son of Farnlag, maintained that when (there is an application with respect to the acceptance of) the wife that is a widow who has married again, and of

the child born to such wife, as the wife in the privileged condition and as the child in the privileged condition, then the order ought to be just the same as in the case when one would adopt one as son or as daughter; and (on action according to that) a property might remain with the wife and might come to her just as it would when she were one in the privileged condition.

58. And in respect to that, one has, (in those cases of adoption), to settle and place on record by means of additional writings and documents signed, sealed and confirmed before the Episcopal Dignitaries to this effect: "I adopt him as son".

59. And it has been said that when with respect to a settlement, one enters into an agreement with the woman married in the condition pertaining to barrenness this way: "I have assigned this property to thy children with this condition that to the family into which thou hast been married in the condition pertaining to barrenness. ..

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RECENT IRANIAN RESEARCHES BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS—III.

REVIEWED BY DR. J. C. TAVADIA, B.A., PH.D.

Lecturer in the University of Hamburg.

Messina, Giuseppe: *Der Ursprung der Magier und die zarathuſtrische Religion*. Roma: Pontificio Instituto Biblico 1930 (p. 102).

Father Messina is a pupil of the late Prof. Markwart of Berlin, of whose advice he has had the benefit in this investigation which deals with the origin of the Magi and their relation to the Zoroastrian religion. This important question has often been discussed, but the results arrived at are not in conformity with one another. The fact is that the notices on the Magi are different in different sources; and we have to take them as representing the situation or development in different times and places. For the solution of the problem of the origin, however, we have to show the development in its broad lines and distinguish between its native and foreign parts.

First the author examines the notice of Pliny and its sources in his 30th book of *Naturalis Historia* where he speaks of different classes of magic (which comprised medicine, priest-craft and astrology). One of them was of Persian origin, Zoroaster being its founder, and another of Egyptian-Jewish origin. The former was considered good, and its practisers were called Magi, the latter was despised and its practisers were called Chaldeans, to distinguish them from the other, at least by the learned. Still, the teachings of these both were mixed up. The influ-

ence of Chaldean or Babylonian astrology upon the Magi was really there—the author has added a chapter on this point,—and Hermippus must have introduced the combined teaching in literary tradition, whereas for the mixture of Egyptian-Jewish sorcery Bolo can have been responsible. In any case, Hermippus and his sources do not ascribe the practice of sorcery to the Persian Magi, but only that which can safely be called Zoroastrian. They are also unanimous that Zoroaster was a Magus; and according to Xanthos he lived 600 years before the invasion of Xerxes. This date occurring in all the important mss. is correct; the variant 6000 occurring in two mss. is influenced by the more common date “6000 years before Plato” which latter in its turn is to be understood in a different sense. Here Messina should have taken into account Hertel’s argument about the questionable character of the evidence in question, see his *Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen Beiheft zu Heft VI* (reviewed by me in No. 11 of this Journal).

Then the author turns to the Avesta and Middle Persian literature and shows that the Magi, who were responsible for its creation etc., were opposed to sorcery, and that their art of reading the future from the stars etc. was not borrowed from Babylon which was, on the contrary, considered as the seat of their enemies. Therefore, distinction must be made between Zoroastrian magic and Chaldean magic, and whatever is handed down as the teachings of the Chaldeans should not be accepted as those of the Zoroastrian Magi. After this comes the most essential part of the investigation, *viz.* that which deals with the meaning of *magu-moyu*-. This word occurs only once in the Avesta, Y. 65, 7, (*moyutbiš*- ‘enemy of the Magi’) from which it is not possible to see the original meaning. But there occurs a similar word *maga*- and its derivative

magavan- in the Gāthās, and Messina wants to connect the other with it. Now the meaning of this word too is given differently by different scholars, but the author agrees with those who connect it with Sanskrit *magha-* 'gift'. In order to find out what sort of gift is meant, he examines all the passages wherein the term occurs, and shows, especially from Y. 53, 7, that it does not refer to future reward or paradise as taken by Geldner. The words 'If you let go this gift, then will "woe" be your last word' show that some gift in this world is meant. Then the demonstrative 'this' is taken to refer to the advice or teaching given in the preceding stanzas. The conclusion, therefore, is that the term *maga-* means the religion of Zoroāstra. This view is fully confirmed by Y. 45, 3, which contains the same idea with somewhat different wording. Here *maθra-* is used in the place of *maga-*, and this settles the suggested meaning of the latter. It is not without interest to note that Maria W. Smith holds the same view. She says "I add a slightly different connotation to Carnoy's translation and take 'wealth', or 'gift', as I have translated *maga-*, to refer to the faith, the spiritual wealth, which man possesses even in the present life, and which is the key to all the blessings of the future life, The *magavan-* is then 'the one having the faith', i.e. the believer in the true religion" (Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas § 76). Messina further shows why *maga-* 'gift' is chosen as the technical term: the prophet receives the divine teaching through Vohu Mano, in other words it was 'the gift of Vohu Mano,' and hence 'the gift' in brief. It is clear that *magavan-* then means the follower of the prophet. Similarly *magu-* *moγu-* according to Messina, who points out that it is formed by suffixing *-u-* instead of *-van-*, just as we have *gaēsūš* 'having curly hair' from *gaēsa-* 'curly hair', and *marγuš* 'having meadows' from *marēya-*

'meadow'. If such be the case, then Zaratuštra is really the first magus. It is quite natural that later on his followers, the Magi, were looked upon as priests, and that they must have formed a class, but not a race or tribe as Herodotus informs us. The highly philosophical and abstract teachings of the Gāthās make it probable that they were in the care and possession of such a select class only, (whereas the masses were attracted to the new religion because of its economical and other practical reforms). This view finds support also from certain classical notices. The silence of Herodotus points to the same thing : he could see and relate what the people publicly did and observed, and for the secrets of the Magi he might not have received information from one of them, but from a Persian who did not adopt nor like their religion. Messina then describes how the Magi had to make changes in the original teachings of the prophet owing to internal and external causes later on.

A summary of the whole investigation is to be found at the end, but there is no index. This would have been very useful for the various interesting and important details scattered in the body of the text and in the notes.

Markwart, Jos. : Das erste Kapitel der Gāthā uštavati (Yasna 43) herausgegeben von Jos. Messina. Roma : Pontificio Instituto Biblico 1930 (p. 7, VI, 80).

This work of the late Prof. Markwart has been edited by his pupil Messina who has added the life of the author to it, from which we get a very good idea of his character and scholarship. A list of his principal works as well as his photograph and autograph are also to be found here. The greater part of the book is occupied by preliminary remarks of the author. These deal with his system of transliteration in respect to certain aspects of

Avestan orthography. The Avesta as has come down to us does not show the original pronunciation of the time of the authors, but the developed one of the second part of the 6th century A.C. The Magi, in whose school this pronunciation was developed and handed down, have added certain etymological and phonetical glosses in the Avestan words. This is the case in the groups $\text{v}z$, $\text{v}z\text{z}$ and $\text{v}z\text{v}$, zv , where the letter v points to the etymology of the words in question. Phonetical glosses are the y -s to be found after the ligatures vv and z which are therefore to be pronounced hy and zy respectively. Such glosses are to be found also in Pahlavi words, for instance d beside t , v beside b , according to Markwart. The next discussion refers to the guttural nasal ʔ w , wherein the author shows with the help of some dialects that it has some right of existence, as against the later view of Andreas who took it to be a sign for o . The third question dealt with is about the signs z and z . Markwart considers them to be the ligatures of a and n , and believes that they represent the reduced n (like Sanskrit Anusvara) which is not written in the Old Persian inscriptions. The main evidence is drawn from certain Iranian place names in Greek. This is the case with the other items also, for instance the next one in which it is shown that the sign z does not represent u or o , when it is used to divide the groups with r -; in this case it is not transcribed. In other cases it is a labial vowel used for a and \bar{a} before a nasal, a labial, or a labial spirant. It is also used for an older $-as$ in the middle as well as at the end of a word. This phenomenon is explained by supposing that originally $-a(h)$ was written as in Old Persian inscriptions, but it was spoken or pronounced \bar{o} which later on took its place in writing also. Markwart does not believe in the theory of Andreas about v and z being u or o . He also holds that the initial urv - is not genuine Avestan; it

must be *vr-*, as preserved by the Armenians. He will not connect this metathesis with Ossetic parallels, because the latter are due to the general tendency of the language to place *r* in the second place in all the groups.

On the question of the real pronunciation and etymology of *Zarađuštra*, the author makes some novel suggestions. He says that the common Greek form is not to be connected with it, and hence it cannot support the theory of Andreas as regards the pronunciation. Markwart says that the form used by Kosmos of Jerusalem, *viz.* *Zaraθroustēs*, properly represents Av. *Zarađuštra*, of course with the transposition of *r*. Moreover, this pronunciation in its turn is due to the change in the division of syllables, *zara-đuštra* instead of *zarat-uštra* which gives the etymology 'possessing yellow camels'. The common Greek form *Zōroastrēs* is derived by Markwart from *zrvat-vāstra* 'possessing green pastures', which being more telling etc. is purposely transformed from the original name. Besides a shortened name there is still another one, *Astrafuxos* derived from **vāstriya-fšu-ka* 'possessing cattle pastures'.

The last and the greatest discussion is devoted to the letter *Ꞥ* which must be distinguished from *š*. Junker too has dealt with this and other questions in his *Ursprung des Awesta-Alphabetes* etc. reviewed by the present writer in a former No. (16) of this Journal. Markwart holds different views on the various points connected with the problem. He says that the sign is a ligature of *īhr*, and represents the later (as can be judged from the Pahlavi equivalents having *hr*, *hl*) pronunciation of *-rt-* which becomes also *(h)r*, *(h)l* in north-eastern and other dialects. At all events, it has a cerebral value, even if the pronunciation be *š*, *i.e.* *š*, as is the case in *Örmuṛī*. Then is attached a very

interesting account of the dialects of the south-eastern corner of Sogdiana, touching upon the different peoples like the Kušans etc. who occupied it. It may be noted that Markwart still connects the particular deity on Indo-Skythian coins with *Aurvataspa* or *Lohrāsp*, whereas Christensen has identified it with *Drvāspa* in his *Etudes sur le Zoroastrisme* etc. (reviewed in No. 16 of this Journal).

After all this matter comes the part mentioned on the title-page. The original text is given along with the transcription. Important variants are as well noted. And besides the translation a commentary is also added in the form of grammatical and exegetical notes. A complete index prepared by the editor Messina ends the volume which, it may be added, is not printed but beautifully lithographed.

Lommel, Hermann : *Die Religion Zarathustras nach dem Avesta dargestellt*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr 1930 (p. VIII, 290).

It is for the first time that we have such a detailed account of the Zoroastrian religion from a German scholar. It is based upon the Avesta, but other sources, native and foreign, are referred to by way of completion etc. After some preliminary remarks among which the author holds that the date of Zoroaster must be placed before 714 B.C. because of the occurrence of Mazdaku in Sargon, he turns to the discussion of God, Ahura Mazdāh, and the Two Spirits. Instead of the Good or Holy Spirit Lommel uses the Clever Spirit, the reasons for which are given by him in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 7, 44. This Spirit is distinct from Ahura Mazdāh, especially in the Gāthās, but their relation to each other is not quite clear. And as regards the Two Spirits, the Zervanistic ideas are not to be found

in the Avesta. The second chapter is devoted to the Clever Immortal ones and their opponents; whereas other good and evil Spirits, *viz.* Sraoša with his opponent Aešma, and Aši the genius of future reward, are discussed in the third. The next chapter called Dualism of Spirit and Body contains some novel theories. The author tries to show that there is a corporeal counterpart to spiritual dualism. For instance, Fire and Serpent to Truth and Falsehood. The corporeal representatives of the good creation are well known, good man, cattle, fire, etc.; those of the evil creation are, according to Lommel, as follows: evil man, wolf, serpent, pollution (through corpses etc.) and rustiness, the next uncertain, drought (heat), scarcity of crops (frost).

The account of the different stages of creation is added from later sources like the Bundahišn. Then follows the interesting chapter on man, his spiritual prototype, *daēnā*, *fravaši*; his choice by free will for going into the material existence; his component parts like intellect, soul, consciousness, etc. As a supplement to this account is given the myth about the soul of the cow or ox. The next chapters deal with the soul after death and with the last things or resurrection etc. Then we read about the Zoroastrian ideals of practical piety. Some chips from the pre-Zoroastrian religion or Indo-Iranian comparison form the last chapter. These are: relation of the Clever Immortal ones to the elements and the Adityas, that of the demons to evil animals and things, ethical dualism truth and falsehood. At the end are given a list of Avestan passages quoted in the work and an index.

The reader will find in the book of Prof. Lommel some novel ideas and theories. But the way in which he offers them is rather misleading, I believe. The fact

is that he holds quite different views about the development of Zoroastrian religion in the Later Avesta and in Pahlavi Books. He is more inclined to believe that most of it is in accordance with the spirit and the teachings of the prophet. He has therefore tried to find out even the faintest hints that may suit in the structure that he has formed. Furthermore, he has not taken into account the researches of Hertel. Let it be noted that this review must differ from the preceding ones owing to the nature of the work.

Ivanow, W.: Notes on Phonology of Colloquial Persian (= *Islamica*, Vol. 4, Fasc. 5. Leipzig 1931).

The present notes are based on personal observations of the author during many years of residence in practically every part of Persia. These must be welcome, since till now we have not got portable machines for making experiments on the spot and thus ascertaining the true value of sounds etc. This is very essential for every language, since there is always some difference in letters and sounds. Persian has a rigid and well developed system of traditional orthography; but in conversation its sounds are remarkably elusive. The author has already given some occasional illustrations in his former articles elsewhere; here he gives the main facts in a compact form, after several preliminary remarks about various points. For instance, the standard colloquial language known as *bāzārī* is neither to be found in Tehran nor in Shiraz as is commonly supposed, but rather in small isolated towns of Khorasan. What Persians themselves admire as Tehrani Persian is not the correctness of the language, but the manner of speaking.

The most essential feature of Persian phonology is a strict economy of muscular effort. Harsh and emphatic sounds are avoided; euphonic sounds by means of assimilation etc. are introduced. The accent is effec-

ted not by raising the voice, but by a prolongation of the syllable. Vowels occur in their full colour or brightness only in a favourable consonantal environment. As to their being long and short, the fact is that there is nothing like a feeling of long and short sounds in a Persian speaker. Intonation causes a great divergency between the writing and the speech. A really long syllable is usually due to syncopation as in *šār* for *šahr* through *šaar*. The ordinary *ā* is not pronounced guttural as here, but quite differently as in English 'law' etc. and as *u* before *m* and *n* in closed syllables. This is commonly known, so also the non-existence of *ē* and *ō*, about which Ivanow is very emphatic, he even denies their existence in the past when they might have been *î* and *ü* (?) respectively. After some interesting remarks about several consonants, few cases of apocopation, syncopation, metathesis etc. are added.

Other articles in this number may be mentioned here in order to give some idea of the character of the journal:—*Beiträge zur islamischen Literaturgeschichte I*, by M. Plessner; *Das Problem eines vorislamischen christlich-kirchlichen Schrifttums in arabischer Sprache*, by A. Baumstark; *The use of Poison by the Ancient Arabs*, by F. Krenkow. Besides, there are some notices of books.

Herzfeld, Ernst: *Archæologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1929-1931.

The first number of this highly important publication was reviewed in detail last time in No. 16. Unfortunately it is not possible to adopt the same course regarding the next issues just at present. It is however a matter of utmost necessity that at least a brief notice of their contents should appear here. The second number gives a short account of the archæological observations made by the author in southern Kurdistan

and Luristan. Some of his finds are reproduced on six plates which show that the area deserves a regular survey in the matter. Then follows the great study on the date etc. of Zoroāstra, which study is continued in the following numbers too. An abridged version thereof is given by Herzfeld himself in Dr. Modi Memorial Volume under the title Vishtaspa and therefore it is unnecessary to summarise the present one. It is enough to note that many new details are added in the notes etc. One of the essays relating to the problem is called Avestan Topography, wherein the data of Bundahišn also is thoroughly examined. The third number of the second volume contains among other things the newly discovered inscription of Ariyāramna, the great-grand-father of Darius. This find is expected to throw new light on several problems, historical, religious, literary, and artistic. But Prof. Schrader has shown that it is not genuine. Details on this question may be given on another occasion. The first number of the third volume deals with the following subjects: Dareios Soter, Spendarmat-Demeter, A Sasanian Elephant with 4 plates etc. The second one contains the most important article: The Magna Charta from Susa. The text of this new inscription published by Scheil is re-edited with great precision, and a very useful commentary is added to it. The original text is given on three plates. This subject has been continued in the last number, with special reference to the script, phonetics, and history of the language, in order to reach the problem of the Old Persian prosody. These bare facts too will be supplemented by some details by way of illustration in the near future. But it goes without saying how indispensable are the researches of Prof. Herzfeld who works single handed and yet achieves such tremendous tasks.

THE NAME OF THE BLACK SEA IN PRE-MUHAMMADAN PERSIA.

BY A. FREIMANN (LENINGRAD).

"*Zapiski Kollegiye Vostokovedov*," Vol. V, pp. 647—651.

Translated from Russian by W. Ivanow.

In the XIIIth chapter of the Pehlevi work *Zandā-gāhīh* (*Bundahišn*), the author, inter alia, mentions three large salt seas. As appears from the title of this work, its contents are formed from the "information", or "knowledge" (*āgāhīh*) of what is found in the comments to the Avesta (*zand*), on the principles of creation, cosmogony or cosmology (*Bundahišn*); in other words, on the complete system of the ideas concerning the creation, as they evolved in the Zoroastrian Persia of the Sasanide period. Some cosmogonic ideas of this work have recently attracted the attention of the students of the history of religion who see in the *Zandāgāhīh* the source of influence which played a great rôle in the development of the speculative religious philosophy of the Near East.

Some fundamental parts of this work, as it was proved (cf., for instance, *Ztschr. f. Indol. u. Iranistik*, II, 76), are connected with the portions of the Avesta which did not come down to us, but the contents of which was recorded in Middle-Persian literature. The data pertaining to the ideas in natural history and geography, preserved in this work, also present considerable interest. An indispensable condition of an analysis of such information, however, is, obviously, a correct reading and interpretation of the corresponding passages. This was not always quite correct due to the well-known diffi-

ēvag..... *i.e.*, "there are three chief salt seas and 23 smaller ones; those three principal ones are: one *Pūtika*, another *Kamrōd* (?), and one...." — *az har 3-pūtīg mēh*,—"of all three *Pūtīg* is the largest". In the latter, as is narrated later on, tides and ebbs take place. In that sea the polluted waters are purified and after this they return to the sea *Frāx kard* (Avestic *Vourukaša*), *i.e.*, the Ocean surrounding the Universe.¹ The general opinion of all students who took interest in this matter is that the largest salt sea, possessing tides and ebbs, must be the Indian Ocean with the Persian Gulf².

Concerning the second sea, *Kamrōd* (if the reading is correct, this may mean "possessing a few rivers") it is said in the same XIIIth chapter further on (p. 27, l. 13): *Some insignificant variants localise this sea in a different way in the manuscripts of both versions: Taupauristān and Turkistān*³, *i.e.*, "in Tabaristan" or "in Turkistan". In other respects both versions are identical. If we accept the Indian version, stating that "*zray i Kamrōd ān i pa awāxtar pa Tawuristān viḍārēnd*", *i.e.*, "the sea *Kamrōd* is that which is passed in the North from (? in the text "in") Tabaristan", we can identify it with the Caspian as the second largest sea after the Indian Ocean on the confines of Persia. The name "*Kamrōd*", or the "having few rivers only" could be applied to it through the fact that there are no rivers falling into it on the Eastern side. It is scarcely

1 The same is observed in the Avesta, cf. *Viḍēvdīd*, 5, 18.

2 Cf., for instance, E. W. West, note on p. 43 of his translation of this text, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V.

3 So in one of the MSS. which were used by Anklesaria in his edition, p. 84.

possible that by this name the Aral Sea is meant. It is smaller than the Caspian, and the importance of the rivers flowing into it, especially of the Oxus river, was always too great in the Iranian world that a term like "few-rivered" would be applied to it. Therefore in the translation of this work by West, already referred to, the opinion was expressed that the term *Kamrôd* should be applied to the Caspian.

In the description of the third salt sea the work states only that it is *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀 pa Hrôm*, i.e. "in Room", i.e. in Bysanthium (so in both versions). This sea, which lies outside of Persia, was not well known to the authors of the work; this is probably why the description is so laconic. The sea which is "in Bysanthium" must be, as suggested by West, either the Black or the Mediterranean seas, or both together.


Here we come nearer to our original question: the reading of its name, and the question how Persians called this specially "Room", or Bysanthian sea in pre-Muhammadan period. This name is differently written in the Pehlevi texts which came down to us. Still more, there is the difference in the ways of reading this name by different scholars who studied this text, beginning with Anquetil, and ending with West.

This name is written in several ways, as follows: in the edition by Justi, p. 26, l. 13 and p. 27, l. 15 as *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀*. In the edition by Westergaard as *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀*. In the edition by Anklesaria, p. 84, l. 3 as *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀*. Anquetil du Perron in his translation of this text¹ reads *Djah boun, Djchan*. Windischmann² reads *Saibun*. Justi³ reads *Jabhun*. West: *Sahî-bûn, Gahî-bûn, Gêhân-bûn*. Comparing all these

1 Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1771.

2 Zoroastrische Studien, Berlin, 1863.

3 Lines 15 and 16 of the translation.

variants,¹ we see that they permit the term to be read in many varied ways, but the transcription of Justi, West and Anquetil, who tried to read every sign of the word, are unsatisfactory even from the point of view of reading. It is not clear why Justi reads  in his edition as *Jabhun*.

These readings are unsatisfactory also from another point of view. Both *Pūtīg* and *Kamrōd* are names which could be understood by Persians of the pre-Muhammadan period. These terms are Iranian, possessing an Iranian etymology, as is usual in the Iranian toponymy. *Pūtīg* is an Avestan term, meaning the place in which something that rots is (*i.e.* the place in which the polluted waters are) purified. The term *Kamrōd* is already explained. Thus we may be perfectly correct in expecting that the name of the third sea will also be Iranian, and that, due to the general tendency of the middle Persian authors to schematisation, it would be Iranised even if originally known under another, non-Iranian term. The terms like *Jabhun*, *Saibun*, however, mean nothing in Persian, and thus probably never existed.

When trying to read this term, and supposing that it is of Iranian origin, we must not forget that the Northern shores of it were inhabited by peoples of Iranian stock, and that they certainly had to possess a special name for it. It is possible also to suppose that such a name could be given after some feature which was the most striking to the observer, such as the apparent colour (*cf.* the names like Black, White, Red, and the usual epithet "blue"). The ancient Iranian term (Avestic) *axšaēna-*, *i.e.* the "dark-coloured," which is recognisable in the Persian term *xašīn*, "dark blue, bluish", and in Ossetic (Digoric) *axsin*, "dark-grey",

1 These apparently are all variants that are known.

would express in a very accurate way the colour of the sea which is now called "Black". Therefore a supposition that this particular circumstance was the basis of the term which was applied to the sea seems quite possible.

M. Vasmer in his researches¹ expressed a very convincing idea that the term which the Greek writers² applied to the Black sea, Πόντος Ἀξεινος, later on altered into Εὐξεινος, is the name which was adopted by Greeks from the Iranian inhabitants of the Northern coast of the Black sea, Σκυθικὸς Πόντος³, and that the term Ἀξεινος represents the ancient Iranian term *axšāēna-*.

If this is so, and if Greek historians have really preserved for us the ancient Iranian name of the Black Sea: *axšāēna-*, we may see whether the term applied to it by the Pehlevi work mentioned above (𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥) is a trace of that term in the Pehlevi language. This term in Pehlevi should sound *axšēn*, *xāšēn* (*axšāēna-* > *axšēn* > *xāšēn* > Modern Persian *xāšēn*).

And really if only, as is written, 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 we join the third letter with the next one, we obtain 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 i.e., *xšyn*, the usual form of the word in question as it appears in the Pehlevi, and as given here in the edition by Westergaard.

Thus the brilliant guess of M. Vasmer is supported by the Pehlevi text. The third salt sea, therefore, situated *pa Hrōm*, in "Room", was called under the Sasanides *Xāšēn*.

1 Die Iranier in Südrußland (= Untersuchungen ueber die aeltesten Wohnsitze der Slaven, I), Lpzg, 1923, p. 20, and the Acta Universitatis Dorpatensis, S. B., Vol. I, No. 3.

2 So in the works by Pindar, Euripide, and Strabo.

3 So in the book of Theocritus.

FOUR SHORT PAPERS ON IRANIAN SUBJECTS BY A. FREIMANN.*

BY W. IVANOW.

- I. *Is there a "Central Asian" Legal Term in the Sasanian Code?* (Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1918, pp. 311—2).

The paper is a criticism of an article by C. Inostrantsev, "A Central Asian Term in the Sasanian Legal Code", *Zapiski of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, Oriental Section*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 29—32. The term in question, *čakar*, is met with in the Pehlevi work on law, the *Mātikān i 1000 dātestān*, which is a very difficult book to understand due to the large number of legal and other technical terms. These terms were used during a period about which we know very little with regard to its social, legal and other institutions. C. Inostrantsev tries to collate the information about some details of the family customs during the Sasanide period with the references of Tabari to the legal reforms of Khosrow Anushirvan. He justly sees in many of these the ideas which are met with in the "Code". This, however, A. Freimann regards as not sufficient for ascribing to the Code the date from the period of that king.

He takes up the questions about the form of the marriage which was technically called *čakar*. At present such term is applied by the Parsis to remarriage of widows. The Zardushtis of Persia use in their dialect

* I am thankful to Mr. W. Ivanow for kindly complying with my request to give a few Notes on the contents of the papers kindly sent to me from time to time by Prof. A. Freimann. I beg to thank Prof. Freimann also for kindly sending me his papers.—EDITOR.

the term *čakar* for a "concubine". The derivation of this term is, however, obscure. C. Inostrantsev states in his paper that in the newly discovered texts from Eastern Turkestan, in the Northern Indo-European language (I), this word means "daughter", or "girl". He refers to the Bulletin of the Academy, 1909, p. 551.

In reality, however, the word, mentioned by C. Inostrantsev, *does not exist* in the Tokharian texts which have so far been read. On the page referred to there is the word *čakačar* = "daughter" (not "girl"), and there is no reason to regard this word as identical with the Pehlevi *čakar*. Therefore his fundamental idea in the article, about a term derived from Central Asia, becomes null and void.

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- II. *A List of Manuscripts acquired in Bukhara in 1915 by W. Ivanow on behalf of the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences.* Part II. A. Freimann. Jewish Persian MSS. (Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1918, pp. 1279—1282).

W. Ivanow, being commissioned to purchase Muhamadan MSS. on behalf of the Russian Academy of Sciences, undertook a tour in Bukhara in 1915, and has acquired a large collection of over 1100 volumes of Persian and Arabic MSS., many of which were very valuable due to their rarity or antiquity. Amongst these there was a certain number of Turkish, Pashtu, Hebrew, and Jewish Persian MSS. A preliminary list of the Persian MSS. in the collection, prepared by W. Ivanow himself, was set in type in 1918, but never was published due to his having left Russia. The list of the Arabic MSS. was prepared by I. Krachkovski, but remains so far also unpublished. The present paper gives the list of the 25 volumes of the

Jewish Persian MSS. belonging to the collection. The MSS. chiefly deal with religious matters, and are very valuable not only for the study of their philological peculiarities, but also for certain ideas about some peculiarities of the religious beliefs and rites amongst this branch of Eastern Jews. Eight MSS. contain poetry, mostly religious, partly translated from Hebrew. Others contain psalms, prayers, etc., and three copies of the *Khudāydat-nāma* (which was edited, from other MSS., by the late C. Salemann: *Judæo-persica*, I. St. Petersburg, 1897). There are also two MSS. of medical contents, and a versified story of Budhasaf and Barlaam (very popular in India in an Arabic version amongst the Bohras).

The majority of the MSS. date from the XIXth century, but there are several of them dating from the XVIIIth century also. A list of the MSS. is given.

III. *Pehlevi Papyri, and Other Objects of the Ancient Iranian Civilisation, Preserved in the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts.* (Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1918, pp. 1925—1928).

The excellent collection of V. Golenishchev, which forms the nucleus of the department of the Ancient East in the Museum, is its real pride, due to the richness of the material and to its exceptionally fine arrangement. A huge collection of the papyri contains those in Hieratic, Coptic, Arabic, Greek and Pehlevi languages. Only a small part of it, in its purely Egyptian branch, has been edited so far. The Pehlevi portion of it has never been studied.

It is possible to see, by studying the papyri in a chronological order, how gradually the technique of

preparation of the material degenerated, and the art of writing on the papyri was forgotten. The Arabic and the Pehlevi papyri are extremely bad. This bad and rough quality of the writing material adversely influenced the handwriting. Letters are crude, and the characters belong to a type different from what we know from the MSS. of Indian or Persian origin. They are very difficult to read. Unfortunately, though Arabic documents very frequently are accompanied by a Greek translation, which helps very much in their deciphering, the Pehlevi MSS. never have a Greek parallel text.

The contents of the fragments are apparently chiefly documents, letters, business papers. The peculiarity of the handwriting is the illegibility of the horizontal lines, though the vertical lines are clear, which makes it impossible to define precisely the subject without a careful study of each piece.

A list of the fragments is given, with purely external description.

IV. *On the Suffixes of the Plural -t, -ist, -ev, -iv, in the Northern (Scythian) Group of the Iranian Languages.* (Bulletin of the Department of Russian Philology of the Russian Academy, Vol. XXIX, 1925, pp. 397—406).

In his paper "On the Suffixes of the Plural in the Languages of the Sogdian Group" (Japhetic Album, Vol. II, Petrograd, 1923, pp. 1—17), F. Rosenberg, the well-known (though not prolific) Iranian scholar of St. Petersburg, suggested that it is possible to think that the suffixes of the Plural, such as *-t, -ist, -ev, and -iv*, found in some languages of the Northern Iranian group, may be the relics of the influence of the language of the

pre-Iranian population of Iran on the language of the invaders. As the languages of the autochthonic populace of the Iranian lands are not known, he thinks, that they probably were akin to those of the Japhetic races, and accordingly, traces these suffixes to some of the languages of that group.

A. Freimann, however, completely rejects this theory, proving that all these suffixes are quite indigenous to the Iranian languages, and can easily be explained from Iranian Philology.

Suffix *-t* undoubtedly ascends to the collective and abstract Iranian suffix **-θva* > Ancient Pers. **-tva* > Indo-Europ. **-tvo*, to which the late Prof. C. Salemann traces also the Persian suffix *-ihā* (Pehlevi) and *-hā* (Modern Persian). Here we see the universal phonetical rule in Persian about the transition of *-θv-* into *-h-*. In the languages belonging to the Northern Iranian (or Scythian) group the phonetic modification took a different form, and the same group *-θv-* generally gives *-tv-*, or ultimately *-t*, occasionally, as in Middle Parthian language of some Central Asian fragments, as *-ft*: *āmuždēft*, *viḡādēft*, *šahr-dārēft*. This spirant *-θ* is preserved in the Yazghulami: *varāg* (horse), Pl. *veregāθ*.

The other particle indicating Plural, *-ist*, belongs to the same category, and is a real suffix. Originally it was used for expressing the collective nouns. It is akin to the Pehlevi *-išn*, or Modern Persian *-iš*. This suffix also had a gerundial meaning, and formed a complete analogy to the preceding one, **-θva*.

The remaining two suffixes, *-ēv* and *-iv*, have been already explained by W. Geiger (Grundris d. Iran. Phil., Vol. I, Part 2, p. 315), as a relic of the ancient ablative and instrumental case, *-aiβiš*, which appears in Ancient Persian in the form of *-aibiš*, and in Vedic San.

-ebhih, originally used as suffixes only in the declension of the pronouns, but later on introduced also into the declensions of ordinary nouns. The proof of this supposition may be found in the fact of the existence of the suffix *-ēv* in some Upper Oxus dialects in pronouns, while such suffix does not appear in nouns. Such are the dialects of Sarikol and the group of Eastern Rushan subdialects (*čediv* and *čödēv*), while the Western Rushan subdialects and the Shughni have the suffix *-in* (*čōdīn* and *čadīn*). But the demonstrative pronoun in all of them has the suffix of the Casus Obliquus of the Plural *-v*. Cf. Shugh. *div*, Rush. *dēv*, *dēf*, Sarik. *div*, *dēf* (comp. the Middle Vedic *etebhiḥ*).

In this way it is possible to trace in the ancient general Upper Oxus language that it possessed two Oblique cases in the Plural, one with the suff. *-ēv* (from *-aiβiš*) and the other *-in* (from **-inām*).

TWO SILVER DISHES OF SASANIAN TIMES.

By F. ROSENBERG.

[Dr. F. Rosenberg, of the Asiatic Museum of Leningrad, has recently published in Russian (*Zapiski Kollegiï Vostokoviedov*, Vol. V, pp. 137—144), a paper describing two silver dishes of Sasanian times. I am thankful to Mr. W. Ivanow for kindly giving me in brief the substance of the paper.—EDITOR.]

“The paper deals with description of two silver dishes descending from the Sasanide period, or just after it. Two dishes are given in photographs on the tables attached to the paper, both with an image of Behram Gur, with a female slave, riding a camel, and hunting antelopes. The one on the first table was newly discovered in the Ural hills. The second belongs to the collection of Likhachev, and was known long ago. The purpose of this short paper is to give a translation of the notes in Pehlevi, which these two, and one more, in another collection, had at their bottoms. The photographs of these inscriptions are given on page 143. The reading is given at the bottom of page 142 and the translation at the top of page 143. It is as follows:—1) Cost 3 dinars 2 drachms, Pērōžān; 2) Property of Pērōžān, cost 4 dinars; 3) Property of Mitrōžet, 1 dinar and 3 drachms, cost.

Dr. Rosenberg criticises all these data, and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that the dish discovered recently in the Ural hills, may date with others from the period between the end of the VIIth and till the beginning of the XIth century A.D., but, perhaps, may also be of an earlier origin.”

THE

phy of the Good Life". Out of his 12 lectures in the series, six present a "historical survey" of the teachings of old prophets, beginning with Zarathushtra and ending with Christ. The object of this paper is to present a brief outline, with my observations, of what the learned lecturer says about Zoroaster and his teachings of "good life".

I

In his Introductory chapter, Dr. Gore says:—"In very early history, we find, that the idea of the good life is developed, perhaps for the first time on very distinct lines, in the teaching of the Iranian prophet Zarathushtra" (page 17). According to the Zoroastrian books, it may be taken to be so, because Ahura Mazda had offered the mission to Yimâ Khshaêta (Jamshid), but it was refused by Yima, on the ground, that he was not learned and well-informed enough, to carry the mission (nôit dâtô ahmi nôit chistô mârêto bârêtacha daênayâo. Vendidad II, 3).

Our author refers to some earlier pre-historic civilizations (p. 32). Taking it, that, wherever there are religions, more or less well-founded and organized, there are civilizations, we have the evidence of the existence of such civilizations in the Avesta itself, because it speaks of the existence of religious scriptures other than Zoroastrian. It says, that Zoroastrianism is as superior to other creeds (dâta), as the sea Vourukasha (the Caspian) is superior to other seas, as a large mass of water is superior, in point of its running speed and force, to a smaller mass of water, as a large tree is superior to smaller trees growing under its shade (Vend. V, 22-24). For the very first civilization, in which one can find "a more or less concrete idea of the good life for man we must come down to a more recent but still very ancient date", the date of Zoroaster.

Dr. Gore, though he, resting on the authority of Ed.

The Date of Meyer and others, thinks it reasonable to
Zoroaster. take the date of Zoroaster to be about 1000

B.C., likes to "be content to leave the date in uncertainty"

(p. 33). Let us see if Dr. Gore's 'uncertainty' can be made
"less uncertain". We know, that, there are two classes of

writers, who are appealed to, in the matter of the date of

Zoroaster. (1) The Classical writers, who themselves differ,

not by one or two hundred years, but by two to four

thousand years. They place him in years, varying from

6000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. (2) On the other hand, there are

Parsi Pahlavi writers, who wrote about 8 to 10 centuries

ago, and wrote, most probably, on the authority of old tradi-

tion, oral or written. If written, those earlier manu-

scripts are lost. They all unanimously give to Zoroaster, the

date of 300 years before Alexander the Great, *i.e.*, they

place him in the 7th century B.C. Some of the modern

European and American scholars accept this latter date.

But there are other modern scholars, who seem to say:—

"Both, the classical scholars and the old Pahlavi scholars, are

wrong". They then give dates, varying from 1200 B.C. to

800 B.C. I am inclined to say: "Both, the classical and the

Pahlavi scholars, are right". The key to that solution

seems to be that, as asserted by one or two classical writers

themselves, and by one or two later Parsi writers, there

may be two Zoroasters. Pliny the Elder seems to think,

that there may be two Zoroasters¹ (Natural History,

XXX, 21). Suidas (about A.D. 970) also seems to have

thought so.² Among the Parsi writers, one eminent who

held this view is Dastur Mulla Pheroze.³

1 *Vide* Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 14, p. 44,
for the quotation.

2 *Vide* my paper on "The Birth-place of Zoroaster". Journal,
K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 9, pp. 1-113. *Vide* my
"Cama Oriental Institute Papers", p. 134.

3 *Vide*, for an account of his teaching, Mrs. Graham's Narrative
of her Journey.

As to the Pahlavi writers, our author says:—"The later Parsi priesthood, *perhaps*¹ influenced by the desire to bring the now mythical and divinized Zarathushtra nearer to their own time, put him in the seventh century B.C."² I beg to think that, that is not the case. There is no authority to say so, even for our learned author's "*perhaps*". Were it so, they would have given the date, while writing of Zoroaster himself. But they refer to his date casually, while speaking of the destruction of Parsi literature at the hands of Alexander. The modern Parsis are inclined to throw off the authority of their Pahlavi writers of about 1000 years ago, and prefer transferring the date of their prophet from the times of the authentic historical antiquity, assigned to him by these Pahlavi writers, to that of the times of hoary antiquity, ascribed to him by some of the classical writers.

Dr. Gore says:—"There is every reason to believe", that the Gathas, the genuine utterances of Zoroaster. the Gathas "are the genuine utterances of Zarathushtra, or written under his immediate influence" (p. 33). There is "no doubt" of "their accurate preservation, because they were required to be correctly uttered" and "intuned with sanctity". It is the Visparad (chapter 14, s. 1), that speaks of such requisites. It speaks of its proper recital as metrical lines or couplets (*mat-afshanem*), word by word (*mat-vachastashtim*), with the proper understanding (*mat-âzaintim*), in its form of questions³ (*mat-pêrêsvim*), with counter questions (*i.e.*, replies, *mat paiti-peresvim*),

1 The italics are mine.

2 The Philosophy of the Good Life, *op. cit.* p. 33, n. 1.

3 This reference to something like the Socratic way of teaching and preaching seems to be a reference to the 44th chapter of the Yasna (*Īat thwâ peresâ grêsh-moi vaochâ Ahurâ?*) which presents, as it were, the teleological proof, or the Argument from Design, in the matter of the Existence of God.

with proper accents (*mat vaghzi byascha*), and poetic feet (or scanning, *padhe byascha*). The *Sarosh Yasht* (Yt. 57, s. 8) also enjoins such a careful recital (*afsmānīvān vachastashtvat mat āzaintīsh mat paiti frasāo*).¹ Such a careful recital ensures correctness of speech when coming down orally from father to son. Hence it is that, there is all probability of Zoroaster's utterances, coming down correctly from age to age. Again, the recital of the Gathas is spoken of as "singing" (*frāsrāvayat*, Ys. 57, s. 8). Such a singing with all the above requisite precautions, or, as Revd. Moulton calls "constant repetition with traditional music" further ensured correctness and "preservation from corruption".

Zoroaster "is presented to us in the Gathas, in un-
 Zoroaster as a mistakably heroic fashion, as a purely
 historical perso- human being on a remote but intelligible
 nage. back-ground, living, striving, failing,
 succeeding, desponding, rejoicing, but all through his experi-
 ences proclaiming himself as the inspired herald of a gospel
 of the Kingdom of God which is profoundly ethical, enforce-
 ing an ideal of 'the good life' for man, which in its main
 outline is as clear as it is deeply impressive" (p. 34). Our
 author adds that "having read the Gathas again and
 again", he "cannot understand how their antiquity and
 authenticity can be doubted". The "intelligible back-
 ground", referred to by our author, which is well pointed
 out by Dr. Geldner in his article on Zoroaster,² is seen
 very clearly in the well-known prayer "*Kem nā Mazdā*",
 recited daily by the Parsis—a prayer made up from several
 sections of the Gathas and the Vendidad.³

1 These words are well nigh the same as those of the *Visparad* given above.

2 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, Vol. 24.

3 Ys. 45, s. 7; Ys. 44, s. 16; Vend. 8, s. 21; Yt. 49, s. 10.

Germens of Zoroaster's Dualism, arising from the position of his country. His Fight against Evil.

No writer, speaking on the religious system of Zoroaster, can ignore the subject of the so-called Dualism. How did the idea of that Dualism germinate in the prophet's mind? Our author refers to this point. A man is said to be, at times, a child of circumstances. I had the pleasure of travelling, in 1925, in Azarbaizan, the very country of the prophet, the country of Urumiah. I had, in that tour, the further pleasure of discovering and determining, the village of Amui or Amvi there, as the birth-place of Zoroaster.¹ I leave it to my *hamkârs*, to my brother co-workers in the line of Zoroastrian studies, to say, how far I am correct in the matter of my discovery. But I am pleased to find that, one of such *hamkârs*, that eminent American Oriental scholar, Professor Jackson, who had travelled carefully in the country of Urumiah in 1903, and who has given us an excellent book on the life of Zoroaster (Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran), has accepted the correctness of that discovery. In his recent publication,² he says:—"It is now interesting to append that I believe that the location of Amui has since been definitely determined by my old friend, Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi." I am further pleased to find that another *hamkâr*, Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, of Bombay, who visited Persia in 1930, and went upto Urumiah, has confirmed my view and said, in two of his public lectures in Bombay, that, from what he saw and heard at Urumiah, he was convinced, that I have correctly discovered the birth-place of Zoroaster.

1 *Vide* my Gujarati Book of Travels (1926) (મારી સુ'બઈ બહારની સેહે), p. 304. Letter No. 64.

2 "Zoroastrian Studies", p. 276; Postscript, dated June 25th, 1926.

Now, from what I have seen and read of the country of Azarbaizan, I beg to say that it may be very properly said of Zoroaster, that he was "the child of the circumstances" of his time and place. Azarbaizan is one of the fertile regions of Iran. It was subject to frequent invasions and annoyances from the Turanians. One may say that it was so from very early times. It was so before Zoroaster: it was so in the time of Zoroaster, and it continued to be so, even upto the last century of the Sassanian rulers. These Turanians were the Hunus of the Avesta, the Hunas of the Indian books and inscriptions, the Huns of later writers.¹ It was against these Turanians that an early Emperor of China had to build his "Great Wall of China"² and it was against them that the Sassanian King Naushirvan (Chosroes I) had to build his wall near Derband on the Caspian.³ Now Zoroaster's pastoral and agricultural people of Azarbaizan were now and then attacked by these Turanian nomad free-booters.⁴ So, it is quite probable, as suggested by our author, that in Zoroaster's mind "all that is good is

1 On the subject of these Huns, *vide* my papers (a) "The Hūnas in the Avesta and Pahlavi" (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 65-80). (b) "The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia" (Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 24, pp. 530-595. My "Asiatic Papers", Part II pp. 293-349). (c) "The Religion of the Huns, who invaded India and Persia" (The Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference at Madras, pp. 655-682. *Vide* my "Oriental Conference Papers", pp. 165-204) and (d) "The Indian Hunnic King Toramana and the Khushnawaz of the Persians" (*Ibid.*, pp. 205-227).

2 *Vide* my paper "A Visit to the Great Wall of China. A similar Wall of King Naushirvan of Persia". Journal B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXVI, p. 265-84 (1923). *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers", Part III, pp. 194-213. 3 For an account of my visit to Naushirwan's

Wall, *vide* my Gujarati Book of Travels "દેશ-દે. શિલ્પ નેશીરવાનની કોઠેસસ પહાડ અને કેરળીયન સમુદ્ર વચ્ચેની ળીવાલ", *op. cit.* pp. 276-278. Letter No. 59. 4 *Vide* Yasua XII for a reference to these inroads.

identified with the quiet pastoral life", which quiet life is represented by "the soul of the kine" whose "wail" against the nomad Turanian free-booters reaches heaven. "This struggle of the pastoral peace-lovers against the violent and aggressive nomads becomes in Zarathushtra's imagination the world-wide struggle of good against evil" (p. 35). We find his "divine commission", as "champion of the good cause", vividly pictured in the Yasna (Ys. 29). In compliance with the request of the kine, to have among them, one who can take care of them, Zarathushtra is commissioned by God to help them. He accepts the commission, and, on one hand, prays to God for help, and, on another, exhorts his people to hear him patiently and follow his teachings for their good. He prays to God, both for physical comforts and mental enlightenment. The riches, that he prays for, for some physical comforts, is a gift of 10 mares with calves and a camel (*dasâ aspâo arshnavaitish ushtremchâ*, Ys. 44, s. 18). He desires to have this gift in order to offer it to God himself (*Yathâ hi taëfbyô daonghha*, *ibid.*). I think that, what seems to have been meant is, that, with this gift at his disposal, he may be not only at peace of mind for his own maintenance, but may be in a position to help the poor.

II

Zoroaster's Inheritance of Religious and Ethical Ideas from olden Times.

To have a clear conception of Zoroaster's religious and ethical system, one must understand clearly the following:—

- (1) The back-ground on which the prophet had to rest, i.e., the religious and ethical ideas which then already existed (in the Mazdayasnân religion in which he was born).
- (2) His teachings.
- (3) The result of his teachings in his country.

Our author speaks of these three.

Almost all prophets are, more or less, reformers, but Zoroaster as a Reformer. Zoroaster was pre-eminently so. He had preceding him a number of reformers, who are spoken of as Saoshyants (𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬀), *i.e.*, those who brought benefit (to the community). They were Gayomard, Hoshang, Tehmuras, Haoma, Jamshed, Faredun, Kaus, Kaikhusru. The religion of these early times is spoken of, in later times, as "paoiryô tkaêshi", *i.e.*, "of the ancients". In spite of excrescences, that now and then crept in, in spite of occasional degenerations, the religion was Mazdayasni, *i.e.*, the religion, worshipping one God.

The traditional back-ground of the existing beliefs of

The Elements
of the Traditional
Back-ground of
Zoroaster's Reli-
gion.

Zoroaster's time was that of reverence for grand objects of Nature, as we see in the old religion of the Vedas in India. I may add, that one sees a similar creed in the ancient Germans¹ also. In fact, "From Nature to Nature's God" was a general characteristic of the religions of all the branches of the Aryan stock. In this traditional back-ground, the following elements, says our author, were prominent:—

(a) Ahura Mazda, Zoroaster's Supreme God, was ancient. He had his parallel in the Indian Varuna.

(b) Mithra was an old god, whom Zoroaster rejected. He stepped in again after Zoroaster. I think we have no clear evidence of Zoroaster's rejecting him. One may say, that Zoroaster may have found no reason, to refer to him

1 *Vide* my paper on "The Ancient Germans. Their History, Religion, Manners and Customs" (Jour. of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, pp. 636-84. My "Anthropological Papers," Part II, pp. 225-301. *Vide* my paper on "Goethe's Parsinameh" or Buch des Parsen, *i.e.*, the Book of the Parsis (Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 65-95. My "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 119-48.)

in his Gathas. But that does not show that he rejected him. It seems that, some scholars are carried away, by what is known of later Mithraic beliefs and rites, that latterly prevailed in the West. If one carefully looks into the picture of Mithra, as given in the Meher Yasht, he sees a high moral tone and very little for which one's feelings may be hurt.

(c) The belief in the Ameshaspentas existed before Zoroaster's time. Zoroaster gave them a proper place in his system as "divine attributes".

(d) The idea of the Daevas as minor gods existed in pre-Zoroastrian times. Zoroaster made them "evil spirits" in his system.

(e) There existed the cult of the plant Haoma, which, our author believes, was an intoxicant, and so, Zoroaster rejected it. Here also, I think, scholars are carried away, as in the case of Mithra, by what they know of the corresponding Saoma plant in the Indian books. (a) I will say here also, as in the case of the Meher Yasht, that there is nothing in the Haoma Yasht, which points to intoxication. (b) Zoroaster himself was the result of his father's prayer and performance of the Haoma ceremony. So, he cannot be the result or the fruit of anything relating to an intoxicating drug. (c) Again, the Parsis still use Haoma twigs in the Haoma ceremony, which are not at all, intoxicant. I beg to draw the attention of my readers to my paper on "The Haoma in the Avesta", read before the 8th Oriental Conference at Stockholm.¹ I give therein extracts from the letter² of Dr. Aitchinson, who attended, as a Naturalist, the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1885, I had sent him a few Haoma twigs still used by the Parsis in their Haoma

1 *Vide* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 203-221. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers", Part I, pp. 2 25-243. 2 *Vide* p. 229 for the letter itself.

ceremony. I was led to do so because the late Prof. Max Muller had made some inquiries from him in the matter of the Indian Soma. Dr. Aitchinson said to me in reply, that Haoma was still used by the Afghan frontier tribes as a household medicine. They use it as a decoction. I beg to draw the attention of my readers, in the matter of my view of the use of Haoma among the ancient Iranians, to my paper on "The Tea Cult of the Japanese".¹

Some German scholars, seem to have taken a rather prejudicial view of Haoma. They have taken it that, in all matters, on all fours, the Iranian Haoma is the same as the Indian Soma, described in Indian books, where also, I think, there is much of poetic outburst. I remember, that, it was a prejudice of that kind about the Iranian Haoma, that led some German scholars to say to me in a friendly way, holding glasses of beer in their hands at an entertainment after one of the Congress Sessions at Stockholm: "Mr. Modi, here is your Haoma?" I remember well that, when at the close of my above paper, a German scholar spoke rather irreverently of the use of Haoma by the ancient Iranians, the late Prof. Leitner entered a mild caveat against such a treatment of the subject.

(f) The belief in "the idea of the world as a mixed result of the activity of the good and bad spirits," existed before Zoroaster's time. I think, that it may be taken, though to a small extent, as a common Aryan belief. But Zoroaster emphasized it from a strong moral point of view.

(g) The veneration for the Sacred Fire existed before Zoroaster's time. In fact, Fire-reverence and Sun-reverence were world-wide. But, Zoroaster elevated the spirit of reverence to Fire.

¹ "The Tea Cult of the Japanese" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, No. 6, pp. 671-686 *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Part III, pp. 233-248).

(h) The belief in the Fravashis. It is true, that, as our author says, Zoroaster "took no account" of it. But from his complete silence, one cannot say, that Zoroaster rejected it. I think that the belief about the Fravashis, in one of its aspects—the Fravashis of the Living—is very properly compared with that of the "Ideas" in Plato. The extension of that idea to the spirits of the dead, may, to some extent, be strictly Zoroastrian. But, if the belief is properly understood, there is nothing unnatural or repulsive in the belief. Of course, in all ages, and among all people, excrescences creep in, but keeping them out in the case of the Fravashis, there is nothing in their account, as found in the Farvardin Yasht, which can justify a complete rejection. For my views about the Fravashis, I will refer my readers to my work "The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" (pp. 408-24).

I think that, in the matter of these old beliefs, our author takes a very proper view of the attitude of Zoroaster, when he says:—
The Attitude of Zoroaster in his work of Reform.

"The religion of his tribal tradition...
.....Zoroaster does not appear directly to have combated, except where it was associated with vicebut concentrating his attention on certain elements in it, he converted it in his own mind and teaching in what was practically an ethical monotheism, claiming the co-operation of all loyal men in the purpose of the good God: and so went out on a purely prophetic mission, to inaugurate a reformation, which was fundamental indeed, but which he strove to make effectual rather by offering and deepening the better elements in the tradition which the inner light showed him to be alone the truth (p. 39). Agreeing with Meyer, Dr. Gore calls Zoroaster "a completely independent thinker," "one of the very few real founders of religions," "one of the most important figures in religious history" (p. 40), but he seems to dislike his method of leaving

"the unworthy elements in the traditional religion to die of themselves" (p. 39-40). I think, that, this, instead of being a defect in his method, may be taken as a good characteristic of this most tolerant of tolerant prophets, a prophet, who knows well, that all men are not of the same calibre of mind. All the elements in themselves were not "unworthy"; some may have been allowed to beso, by some depraved understanding. But after all, "The Good Life", which form the watchwords of our author's book, was his final aim.

Speaking of "the two primeval Spirits good and bad,"

Spenta Mainyu,
at times identi-
fied with Ahura
Mazda.

Dr. Gore says:—"Whether the primal good Spirit is to be identified with Ahura Mazdah is not clear" (pp. 41-42). I

think that, it is somewhat clear, in the spirit, if not in the letter, in several parts of the Avesta. The word Ahura Mazda came to be applied to the Good Spirit to Spenta Mainyu. In the Vendidad (chap. I), where Ahura Mazda is placed in direct opposition to the Angre Mainyu, to the Evil Spirit, we have to take Ahura Mazda as the Good Spirit, as the Spenta Mainyu. When we take that view, when we understand the word Ahura Mazda in the sense of the Good Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, much of the misunderstanding about the so-called Dualism disappears; and our author's conclusion is quite correct that: "Practically, however, Zarathushtra treats Mazdah as the only Creator and supreme God; thus the ultimate controlling will in the universe is only good" (p. 42). "Zoroaster is to all intents and purposes a monotheist" (p. 43).

Speaking of the Amesha Spentas, our author agrees with

Amesha Spentas.

many a scholar and says:—"We need

not hesitate to think of these holy beings as in the religion of Zarathushtra

no more than personified attributes of Mazdah and of his

activities among men" (p. 44). In this conception of the Amesha Spentas, Zoroaster was "thoroughly original". They were, as said by Moulton, "the most distinctive features of Zarathushtra's own thought" (p. 44).

As to "Zarathushtra's conception of mankind", his
 Zoroaster's Con-
 ception of Mau-
 kind in relation
 to Heaven and
 Hell.

"being endowed with reason and freedom of will", Dr. Gore very properly says:—"Man has the making of his own heaven or his own hell" (p. 45). I think that the beautiful small prayer of "Vispa Humata, vispa Hukhta, vispa Hvarshata" which a good Zoroastrian has to recite daily three times in the morning, fully illustrates this view, when it says that "a man's good thoughts, good words and good deeds lead him to Heaven: his bad thoughts, bad words and bad deeds lead him to Hell". You require no saviour, no intercessor. You are yourself your own saviour. Your own good thoughts, good words and good deeds are your saviours, your intercessors. Dr. Gore says:—"Zarathushtra is never carried away by imagery from a strictly rational and spiritual conception of heaven and hell as the region of 'the best thought' and 'the worst thought'" (p. 48). I would rather say "the best life" and "the worst life". Words and actions must go with thoughts, and all the three make up a life or a state of life. The later Iranian word for Heaven is "Behesht". It is a later form of the Avesta word "vahishta" meaning the 'best'. The Iranian word for Heaven, *viz.*, 'behesht', is, as it were, nothing more or less philologically and significantly, than the English word "best". Try to be *good* to-day. Try to be *behtar* (English better) to-morrow. Try to be *behesht* (English best) the day after. Thus, you advance towards Heaven. These are your steps to go to Heaven. Be good, better (*behtar*) and best (*behesht*), step by step, in your thoughts, words and actions, and you rise to Heaven, you are heaved up to Heaven.

Speaking of Zoroaster's "high ideal of marriage" our author briefly discusses whether his religion may be called "aristocratic", as said by Moulton, because he takes "for granted the authority of the ruling family", or "the religion of the poor". He himself seems to take it to be the latter. In these modern times, when "socialism" is on the lips of the world, one may say that when one takes all the teachings of Zoroastrianism into his mind, he finds that modern socialism has no ground to stand upon in the old Iranian religion, inasmuch as it was, and is, the religion, not for the few rich only, but for the many poor in general.

There have been some futile attempts, now and then, to say that Zoroastrianism was indebted to the Jewish faith. Dr. Gore thus writes against this view: "Clearly it is not possible to suggest that this lofty religion, however closely resembling the Jewish faith—could have been borrowed from the Jews: its date renders that impossible.... Nor is there any other alien source to which it can be attributed. It remains in its lofty severity a momentous creation, if it be not wiser to call it, as Zoroaster himself would have called it, a signal inspiration by the divine Spirit of an individual prophet. It exhibits at a very early stage in the history of mankind a clear conception of the Good Life for Man. It is puritanical, that is, it has no flavouring of art and gives but few signs of accommodation to ordinary human desires for relaxation and enjoyment; but it is in the highest degree lofty and inspiring, and, full as it is of the sense of pity for the oppressed and miserable, it can rightly call itself a gospel; further, it is conspicuous for the simplicity and decision with which (on the basis of a highly ambiguous tradition).

Zoroastrianism,
a Religion, not of
the Aristocratic
but of the Poor.

Independent ori-
ginality of Zoroas-
trianism.

it exhibits in the boldest outline the theology by which this good life is controlled and justified, and the eschatology by which it is supported. The longer one thinks about Zarathushtra's religion and allows it to absorb one's mind, the more central, the more illuminating, the more divine, it appears. But in fact, if it was truly a light shining in a dark place, it shone in its purity but for a very little while and in a very restricted area" (p. 52).

Our author enters in a brief dissertation, to say, that there was "a rapid recovery in the generations after Zarathushtra of the older tradition of religion" (pp. 53-54).

Fall in pristine
Purity.

Well, such a thing is said to have occurred in the case of all known religions. The pristine purity is more or less obscured, but it is an injustice to the prophets, if one says, that it was lost. Let us speak here of Zoroaster's religion. The old traditional Mazdayasnān religion of Iran, which took the thoughts of Man, from Nature to Nature's God, was still there. Zoroaster, looking to the grand objects of Nature, to the grand phenomena of Nature, the rising and the setting of the Sun and the Moon, the flowing of rivers and growing of trees (Ys. 44), pointed to God's Omnipotence, Omnipresence, and Omniscience, and thus, dwelling on the physical side of Nature, dwelt upon, and emphasized, the moral side. To borrow the words of our author, "Good Life" "Good Life" and "Good Life" was his principal errand from God as a prophet. He reformed, what was deformed, but the *form* was there. "From Nature to Nature's God" was the original traditional form, which was universally accepted by Aryan belief, the belief of the ancient Indians, Germans and of the people of other branches of the Aryan stock. In the case of Iran, whenever, in that belief, there were attempts on the part of the followers of its faith to give a higher place to Nature, to the

grand objects of Nature, than what was its due, when there were attempts, unintentional of course, whereby the Omnipotence, Omnipresence or Omniscience of the Great God, of Ahura Mazda, looked likely to be lightened, lessened, or obscured, there appeared on the stage a great Saoshyant who set things aright, who reformed the deformities. Zarathushtra was the last—and the most successful—of the Saoshyants who stamped his personality or the powerful individuality of his teachings on the Iran of his age. His stamp was more or less a permanent stamp. The pristine purity of the stamp of his teachings was, of course, obscured after him but the substratum was perfect. The Iranians after him did appeal at times to the Powers other than that of Ahura Mazda, to the Ameshaspentas and the Yazatas but Ahura Mazda was always at the head. European and American scholars look to the Yashts and the Nyaishehs of the Parsis in, what may be called, their *naked* form. The texts of these *Yashts* and *Nyaishehs* in honour of Zoroaster must be looked at in, what we may call, their *clothed* form. The formula, "Ahurêṃ Mazdâṃ raêvantem kharêṇaghuhantem yazamaide," stands at the recital of all the Afringans in honour of the Yazatas. Looking to the invocation of saints, who are after all deified great personages, in other religions, one may not, I think, find fault with invocations addressed to higher Powers, which after all are next to Ahura Mazda.

However, the fact, of course, is, that, some time after Zoroaster, I think, long after Zoroaster and not after "a very little while" (p. 52), as said by our learned author, there was some decline in pristine purity. Our author very properly says:—"For present-day Parseeism (*i.e.*, the Zoroastrianism which survives almost only in Bombay)," I may add in India and Persia, "an outside observer would say that nothing is more to be desired than a movement 'Back to Zoroaster'" (p. 55). I, as an "inside

observer", and, I think, many more with me, will add to the above statement of Dr. Gore in the Parsi words, "Atha Jamyât Yatha âfrinâmê" (*i.e.*, Amen. May it be so as I desire).

Our author thus finishes his observations on the Gathas :

The Significance of Zoroaster's teaching. } "The teaching of Zarathushtra, as presented in the Gathas when it is considered as a whole, and its early date taken into account, is of even startling significance. According to it, the life of man, in spite of all the evils, which imperil and beset it, in spite of the enormous abuses of life which prevail, is a good thing, of eternal and immeasurable worth. The responsibility of saving one's soul or realizing one's being is the supreme responsibility of men and women, as free and rational beings" (p. 55).

Dr. Gore very properly says with respect to the question of fellowship of God as viewed in Zoroastrianism: "There is no way of fellowship with God by charms or sacrifices, but only by the way of likeness to God". The last words "by the way of likeness to God" are very significant. In the marriage benediction (the Âshirwâd), one of the benedictions of the officiating priest is "Kerdâr bed chûn Ahura Mazda Khodâe pa dâmân-i khish", *i.e.*, "Be a doer of good deeds like Ahura Mazda God in His creation." Another benediction, though not exactly similar, is "Kâm anjâm bed chun Ahura Mazda Khodâe pa dâmân-i khish", *i.e.*, May your desires be fulfilled like those of Ahura Mazda in His creation. This view of "the likeness to God" reminds us of that little story attributed to Julian (331-363), commonly known as Julian the Apostate.¹

1 He was given the title of Caesar and he ruled over the Roman Empire for about 20 months (361-363). He is said to have written a History of the Caesars, "a satirical composition, in which the

He made the souls of some departed great men pass before a judge. The judge asked: "What was your aim in life?" The souls of Alexander the Great, Marcus Aurelius the Roman Emperor, and others passed, and, when questioned, gave their replies. Alexander said that the conquest of the whole world was the aim of his life. Trojan gave a similar reply. Julius Caesar said: To get the highest post in the state was his aim in life. Augustus Caesar said that the aim of his life was to rule well. It was the reply of Marcus Aurelius, which pleased the presiding deity best. He said that his object in life was "*to be like God*". The "fellowship of God", spoken of by Dr. Gore, is beautifully referred to in the last part of the Hoshbam prayer enjoined to be recited thrice at dawn—"Asha vahishta Asha sraeshta, daresâma thwâ, pairi thwâ jam-yâma, hamem thwâ hakhma", *i.e.*, O Ahura Mazda! grant that, we may see Thee, we may approach Thee, we may come into Thy friendliness through Asha (Righteousness) which is the best which is the most excellent.

Dr. Gore concludes his chapter on Zoroaster, saying
 Zoroastrianism, a Universal religion at starting. "Zoroastrianism is, at starting, a universal religion for man as man." He thinks that it "ultimately narrowed into an intensely national form in the Persian religion and Parseeism. But both are alike in making the essence of the good life for man to be correspondence with the purpose and character of God" (pp. 56-57).

Dr. Gore's book is very interesting and instructive and his chapter on Zoroaster, of which I have given a brief outline with my observations, presents a suggestive and instructive view, of one of the best modern scholars of religion, on the subject of Zoroastrianism.

dead Caesars appear at a banquet prepared in the heavens and have to endure the caustic wit of old Silenas." (Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 13, p. 769.)

THE ANNALS OF ḤAMZAH AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ.

TRANSLATED FROM ARABIC

BY

DR. U. M. DAUDPOTA, M.A., PH.D.

[It was my study for my paper entitled "The Mobadān Mobad (أُمید بن اشوست) Omīd bin Ashavast, referred to by Hamzā Isfahānī. Who was he?" contributed to the Dr. Geiger Memorial Volume (*Studia Indo-Iranica* / *Ehrengabe Für Wilhelm Geiger*) that led me to suggest to the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute that Hamzah Isfahani's Chapter on the Ancient History of Persia may be got translated by an Arabic scholar. After some consultations, the work was entrusted to the efficient hands of Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Arabic in the Ismail College at Andheri. The Institute is thankful to Dr. U. M. Daudpota for this translation to which he has voluntarily prefixed an introduction appreciating the value of the chapter, and also appended a translation of another important chapter containing the dates of the Persian Nauruz according to the Muslim Era.—EDITOR.]

INTRODUCTION.

HAMZAH B. HASAN AL-ISFAHĀNĪ.

ob. 350 A.H. (?)

An account of the life, works and literary activity of Ḥamzah is given in

Ibn Nadīm: *Al-Fihrist*, p. 139 (Flügel's edition);

Goldziher: *Muhammadanische Studien*, Vol. I, pp. 209-213;

Brockelmann: *Geschichte der Arabische Litteratur*, Vol. I, p. 145;

Mittwoch: His article on Ḥamzah in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 256;

Huart: *Arabic Literature*, pp. 183-184;

Jurjī Zaidān: *Ta'rikhu Adābi'l-Lughati'l-'Arabiyah*, Vol. II, p. 315.

To these and Professor Mittwoch's other writings mentioned in the bibliography of his article on Ḥamzah in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, the reader is referred for fuller information. We are here concerned only with Chap. I of his *Annals*, which early made him known in Europe almost exclusively as a historian, although the majority of his works deal with the questions of philology and lexicography. He was a keen Persophile, and it was his ruling passion to re-establish the correct spellings of the Iranian names, which on account of a long lapse of time had become completely altered or arabicised, as will be seen in the chapter translated below. He delighted in discussing Persian words that have found their way into Arabic and Pahlawi etymologies, but this predilection of his sometimes landed him into inaccurate statements about the names which are really Arabic by

origin. Although he may not have taken an active part in the Shu'ūbiyyah linguistic movement, "the philological reaction against Arabic influence", as asserted by Professor Mittwoch in face of Goldziher's statement, yet in his writings he pays special attention to Persian affairs; for instance, in his *Annals* he devotes one complete chapter to the determination of the great Zoroastrian festival, Naurūz, and brings the calculations right upto the year of his death. Probably more light will be thrown on his Persophile and Shu'ūbite tendencies by perusal of such of his works as "Kitābu'l-Khaṣa'is wa'l-Muwāzanatu bayna'l-'Arabiyyah wa'l-fārsiyyah" which exists in a manuscript of 100 pages in the Khedivial Library, Cairo. Being himself a Persian by birth, he was fired with the zeal to recover as much history of ancient Persia as lay within his reach. He was in direct touch with Zoroastrian priests and through them and other Iranian sources he gleaned much information, which, but for him, might have perished without recall.

The chapter under discussion is very important, inasmuch as all the later writers have made it the basis of their writings on ancient Persian history. It is from this chapter, mainly, that the learned al-Bīrūnī got the tables of the Persian monarchs given in his "Chronology of Ancient Nations"¹. I should have placed the table of various dynasties side by side in charts for the sake of comparison and for showing how divergent the years of the reign of each monarch are, but this has already been done by the learned al-Bīrūnī and his able translator, the late Professor Sachau. Nevertheless I am giving below the total number of years of each

1 In this Introduction as well as in the references in the following translation of Chap. I from Ḥamzah's *Annals*, the pages are given according to the English translation of al-Bīrūnī's book by Sachau.

dynasty according to the tables given in sections I and III of Hamzah's Annals:—

| Names of dynasties | The period of rule of each dynasty according to section I. | The period rule of each dynasty according to section III. |
|--------------------|--|---|
| Pishdadian ... | 2470 years ¹ | 2734 years ⁵ |
| Kayānian ... | 778 „ ² | 718 „ |
| Ashghānian... | 344 „ | 501 „ ⁶ |
| Sāsānian ... | 449 years, 10 months and 16 days ³ . | 456 years, 3 months 21 days ⁷ |
| Total | 4039-10-16 ⁴ | 4409-11-21 ⁸ |

Thus the age of the world, ever since its creation upto the extinction of the Persian Empire, is variously recorded. The remaining tables obtained by al-Bīrūnī from other sources are equally unreliable. In the same way the years of each dynasty, given in the different tables, do not agree with one another. The only dynasty whose duration could be determined with some amount of certainty is that of the Sāsānians.

According to Hamzah, the Sāsānian period extends over nearly 429 years, which is nearer the truth than the

1 Al-Bīrūnī: 2370 years, p. 113, for al-Bīrūnī assigns only 616 to Jamshīd instead of 716, as in Hamzah.

2 Including 14 years of Alexander; al-Bīrūnī throughout puts Alexander at the head of the Ashghānians.

3 Hamzah's total is 429 years, 3 months, 18 days.

4 Hamzah's total is 4071 years, 10 months, 19 days.

5 Al-Bīrūnī: 2634 years; for he assigns only 616 years to Jamshīd.

6 Including 14 years of Alexander and 54 years of his successors.

7 Hamzah's total is 465 years, 1 month, 22 days.

8 Hamzah's total is 4409 years, 9 months, 22 days.

years derived from the other tables. The correct number of years is, however, given by al-Birūnī, who basing his arguments upon the inviolable authority of Mānī's book "Shābūrkan," affirms that Ardashīr consolidated his power in 537 A.Alex.¹, and that this dynasty, upto the year of accession of Yazdijird b. Shahryār, which took place in 943 A.Alex., ruled for 406 years. Incidentally we find out that the entire period covered by the Ashkānians, Alexander and his successors, is 537 years, and not 344 years as determined by Ḥamzah from his study of the Avesta, or 515 years as supplied to him by the Maubadh, Bahrām. We are aware that Ardashīr established himself in 226 A.D., and that Yazdijird, the last king of the Sāsānian dynasty, died in 31 A.H.=652 A.D., after a reign of 20 years. This gives us in all 426 years which exactly tally with the computation of al-Birūnī.

I may now advert to a more interesting piece of information which we owe to Ḥamzah. In section IV, while giving a brief account of each Sāsānian monarch, he mentions a book (Kitābu Ṣuwari Banī Sāsān) containing the portraits of the Sāsānian kings. This appears to be the same book which Mas'ūdī saw in the city of Iṣṭakhr in 303 A.H.². Mas'ūdī says that this book was redacted according to the documents found in the archives of the Kings of Persia and was completed in the middle of Jumadā II of the year 113 A.H. It was translated for Hishām b. 'Abdī'l-Malik b. Marwān from Persian into Arabic. Unfortunately Ḥamzah does not supply us all the details of the portraits and their lineaments, from an artist's point of view, otherwise a master hand might give them a fresh life and lustre.

1 Al-Birūnī, p. 121. A. Alex. denotes Alexandrian Era.

2 Kitābu't-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf, p. 250; also cited by Mr. Nariman in his book "Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature," p. 183-184.

THE ANNALS OF HAMZAH AL-ISFAHĀNĪ.

CHAPTER I.¹

A CHRONOLOGY OF PERSIAN KINGS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THEIR FOUR DYNASTIES, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROPHETS THAT APPEARED IN THEIR DAYS FROM THE WEST.

SECTION I.

A cursory description of the four Persian Dynasties, without their history, annals and notices.

Persian kings, inspite of the long period of their sovereignty and the long spell of their power, are divided into four dynasties, *viz.*, the Pīshdādī, the Kayānī, the Ashghānī, and the Sāsānī. Their history is faulty and incorrect; for it has been translated after 150 years from one language into another, and from a script in which the units' digits are of a similar form into another script in which the tens' digits are of a similar form. Therefore in narrating all that pertains to this chapter, I was compelled to consult different manuscripts of books. I collected in all 8 manuscripts,² *viz.*

1. Kitābu Siyari Mulūki'l-Furs, translated by Ibnu'l- Muqaffa'³ ;
2. Kitābu Siyari Mulūki'l-Furs, translated by Muḥammad b. Al-Jahm al-Barmakī⁴ ;
3. Kitābu Ta'rikhi Mulūki'l-Furs, taken from the archives of al-Ma'mūn;
4. Kitābu Siyari Mulūki'l-Furs, translated by Zādawayh b. Shāhawayh al-Isfahānī⁴;

1 This translation is based upon the Arabic Text of the Annals, ed. Gottwaldt, Lipsia, 1844-48.

2 The author gives the names of 7 manuscripts only.

3 Fihrist, p. 118, where the name of the book is given as Kitābu Khudāy-Nāmah Fi's-Siyar.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 245, where this author is mentioned as a translator from Persian into Arabic.

5. *Kitābu Siyari Mulūki'l-Furs*, translated or compiled by Muḥammad b. Bahrām b. Miṭyār al-Iṣfahānī¹;
6. *Kitābu Ta'rikhi Mulūki Banī Sāsān*, translated or compiled by Hishām b. Qāsim al-Iṣfahānī¹; and
7. *Kitābu Ta'rikh Mulūki Banī Sāsān*, redacted by Bahrām b. Mardānshāh, Mobad of the district of Shāpūr, a town situated in Fārs.¹

After obtaining these books, I compared them with one another, and derived from them the contents of this chapter.

Abū Ma'shar al-Munajjim (the astronomer)² says: "Most of the historical dates are confused and corrupt, and this kind of corruption finds its way in the history of a nation, only when a long time has elapsed over it. So when it is copied from one book into another, or translated from one language into another, discrepancy creeps in, either on the side of excess or defect. The same thing happened in the case of the Jewish people who hold divergent views with regard to the number of years that passed between Adam and Noah and the other prophets, with the result that other historians also differ from them in this matter. Similar is the case with the dates and history of the kings of Persia; for in spite of the uninterrupted continuity of their rule ever since the beginning of the world upto the extinction of their empire, there has appeared in their dates plenty of confusion and manifest error. This is because there have been several gaps in their history, during which the land remained without a king, either

¹ The names of Zādawayh, Muḥammad, Hishām and Bahrām are mentioned among the translators of Persian into Arabic. *Vide Fihrist*, p. 245.

² *Fihrist*, p. 277.

from among themselves or from any other nationality. Thus, according to them, the land remained without a king for 170 years after the death of Kayūmarth, the progenitor of mankind, until it was conquered by Ūshhang the Pishdādian. The second time, after the return of Afrāsiyāb, the Turk, to Tūrān for the second time, after he had occupied the land of Persia for twelve years, during which the Aryān land was without a king for a number of years (one cannot say for how many?). The third time, when Zāb died and the world was thrown into a chaos for an indefinite number of years, without any king to rule over it, until Kay Qubād got possession of it. It is also mentioned that from the beginning of the world until their empire passed into the hands of the Arabs, the Persians were several times governed by alien races, wherefore the dates of their ancient kings are so conflicting. The first time in the days of Fiyūrasb; the second time in the days of Afrāsiyāb; the third time in the days of Alexander; and the fourth time when their empire finally passed into the hands of the Arabs."

Abū Ma'shar further says: "The Persians are also disagreed with regard to the ages of their kings. For instance, some suppose that Kay Qubād ruled the earth for 120 years, while others assert that he ruled only a little over ten years." Abū Ma'shar remarks that in this respect the chronology of the Greeks is as dubious as that of the Persians. This is because their ancient chronology and history were taken from Hebrew, and it is well known that the Hebrew script is variable, the one in vogue with the Samaritans differing from the one commonly used by the Jews. Hence the Greek versions are different because the version of the Seventy¹ does not agree with that of the others." Abū Ma'shar further states that in the same way there is a lot of variance in the

1 For the "Thora of the seventy", see al-Bīrūnī, p. 24 of Sachau's translation.

number of years from the day of Creation upto the year of the Migration (Hegira). The Jews, relying upon the authority of the Torah (Pentateuch), consider the age of the world to be 4042 years and 3 months; while the Christians relying upon the same source consider it to be 5990 years and 3 months. The Persians, on the other hand, derive it from their religious book, Avesta, which was revealed to Zoroaster, and say that from the time of Kayūmarth, the Progenitor of Mankind, upto the year of Yazdijird's accession, there have elapsed in all 4182 years, 10 months and 19 days. At the same time, the astronomers consider all this unsound, and affirm that the life of the world, ever since the day the planets first marched from the head of Aries to the day on which al-Mutawakkil started for Damascus (1st Muḥarram 244 A.H.) is 12,320,000,000 solar years¹; and the time that passed between the Deluge and the morning of the day of the accession of Yazdijird b. Shahryār, which took place on Tuesday (Hurmuzd) in the month of Farwardīn (which was the same day and month on which al-Mutawakkil started for Damascus) is 3735 years, 10 months and 20 days. This is the life of the world and from it dates the history of Persian kings. All Persians suppose that mankind originated from Kayūmarth, called Gilshāh (King of Clay), who lived for forty years on the earth.

The First Dynasty of the Pīshdādians.

There were nine rulers of this dynasty, and the period of their rule, including the years of Gilshāh,

¹ The Latin translation gives $(4000 \times 300 \times 20)$ millions, according to the interpretation given to me by my friend Prof. Afonso of Ismail College, who, too, not understanding the real meaning, had to consult some Fathers at St. Xavier's. Still the computation is doubtful.

extended to 2470 years :

| | | | |
|---|-----|-----|--------------------|
| 1. Kayūmarth | ... | ... | 40 years, |
| 2. Ṭahmūrath b. Nau-bi-Jahān | ... | ... | 30 " |
| 3. Jam (brother of Ṭahmūrath) b. Naubijahān | ... | ... | 716 ¹ " |
| 4. Biyūrāsp b. Arwandāsb... | ... | ... | 1000 " |
| 5. Afridūn b. Athfiyān | ... | ... | 500 " |
| 6. Minūchihr | ... | ... | 120 " |
| 7. Afrāsiyāb, the Turk | ... | ... | 12 " |
| 8. Zāb b. Sumāsb | ... | ... | 3 " |
| 9. Garshāsf together with Zāb | ... | ... | 9 " |

and God knows how far this is correct.

The Second Dynasty of the Kayānians.

They were 10 in all and they reigned for 778 years :

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| 1. Kay Qubād | ... | ... | 126 years, |
| 2. Kay Kā'ūs | ... | ... | 150 " |
| 3. Kay Khusraw | ... | ... | 80 " |
| 4. Kay Luhrāsb | ... | ... | 120 " |
| 5. Kay Gushtāsb | ... | ... | 120 " |
| 6. Kay Bahman | ... | ... | 112 " |
| 7. Humā Chihrazād | ... | ... | 30 " |
| 8. Dārā (Humā's brother) b. Bahman | ... | ... | 12 " |
| 9. Dārā b. Dārā | ... | ... | 14 " |
| 10. Alexander | ... | ... | 14 " |

The Third Dynasty of the Ashghānians.

There were 11 monarchs, and their rule lasted for 344 years :

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----------|
| 1. Ashk b. Ashk | ... | ... | 52 years, |
| 2. Shāpūr b. Ashk | ... | ... | 24 " |

¹ Al-Birūnī gives 616. *Vide* The Chronology of Ancient Nations, p. 113.

| | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|-----|-----|----|--------|
| 3. | Gūdarz b. Shāpūr | ... | ... | 50 | years, |
| 4. | Wanḥan (nephew of Gūdarz) b. | | | | |
| | Balāsh b. Shāpūr | ... | ... | 21 | „ |
| 5. | Gūdarz, the Younger, b. Wanḥan | ... | ... | 19 | „ |
| 6. | Narsī b. Wanḥan | ... | ... | 30 | „ |
| 7. | Hurmuzān (Narsī's uncle) b. Balāsh | | | | |
| | b. Shāpūr | ... | ... | 17 | „ |
| 8. | Fayrūzān b. Hurmuzān | ... | ... | 12 | „ |
| 9. | Khusraw b. Fayrūzān | ... | ... | 40 | „ |
| 10. | Balāsh (Khusraw's brother) b. | | | | |
| | Fayrūzān | ... | ... | 24 | „ |
| 11. | Ardwān b. Balāsh b. Fayrūzān | ... | ... | 55 | „ |

The Fourth Dynasty of the Sāsānians.

There were 28 of them and their rule lasted for 429 years, 3 months, and 18 days¹:

| | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----|----|-------------------------------|
| 1. | Ardashīr b. Bābak | ... | 14 | years, 6 months, |
| 2. | Shāpūr b. Ardashīr | ... | 30 | years and 28 |
| | | | | days, |
| 3. | Hurmuz b. Shāpūr | ... | 1 | year, 10 months, |
| 4. | Bahrām b. Hurmuz | ... | 3 | years, 3 months, |
| | | | | 3 days. |
| 5. | Bahrām b. Bahrām | ... | 17 | years, |
| 6. | Bahrām b. Bahrām b. | | | |
| | Bahrām | ... | 13 | years, 4 months, ² |
| 7. | Narsī (Bahrām's brother) b. | | | |
| | Bahrām | ... | 9 | years, |
| 8. | Hurmuz b. Narsī | ... | 7 | years, 5 months, |
| 9. | Shāpūr b. Hurmuz | ... | 72 | years, |
| 10. | Ardashīr (Shāpūr's brother) | | | |
| | b. Hurmuz | ... | 4 | years, |

¹ Actually the total comes to 449 years, 10 months and 16 days.

² Al-Bīrūnī—only 4 months. *Vide* Ch. of A. N., p. 124.

- | | | |
|---|-----------|--|
| 11. Shāpūr b. Shāpūr | ... | 5 years, 4 months, ¹ |
| 12. Bahrām b. Shāpūr | ... | 11 years, |
| 13. Yazdijird al-Athīm (the Wicked) b. Bahrām | ... | 21 years, 5 months, 16 days, ² |
| 14. Bahrām Gūr b. Yazdijird | ... | 23 years, |
| 15. Yazdijird b. Bahrām Gūr... | ... | 18 years, 4 months, 18 days, ³ |
| 16. Fayrūz b. Yazdijird | ... | 27 years, and one day, |
| 17. Balāsh b. Fayrūz | ... | 4 „ |
| 18. Qubād b. Fayruz | ... | 43 „ |
| 19. Kasrā Anūshirwān b. Qubād | 47 „ | 7 months, |
| 20. Hurmuz b. Kasrā | ... | 11 „ 7 „, 10 days, |
| 21. Kasrā Parwīz b. Hurmuz... | 38 „ | „ |
| 22. Shīrwayh b. Kasrā | ... | 8 months, |
| 23. Ardashīr b. Shīrwayh | ... | 1 „ 6 „ |
| 24. Būrān Dukht, daughter of Kasrā | ... | 1 „ 4 „ |
| 25. Hushnubandah (not belong- ing to the royal line) | ... | 2 „ |
| 26. Arzamīdukht, daughter of Parwīz | ... | 1 „ 4 „ |
| 27. Khurzād Khusraw | ... | 1 „ |
| 28. Yazdijird Shahryār Parwīz | 20 years. | |

Thus the entire period covered by all the Persian kings is 4071 years, 10 months and 19 days, spread over 60 monarchs.⁴

1 According to al-Bīrūnī, 50 years, 4 months (*vide* Ch. of A. N., p. 124), but this is evidently incorrect.

2 *Ibid.*, 21 years, 5 months, 8 days.

3 *Ibid.*, 18 years, 4 months, 28 days.

4 By total there are 58 Persian monarchs and not 60, and the period of their rule is 4039 years, 10 months and 16 days; one cannot account for the discrepancy of 32 years, and 3 days.

SECTION II

*Repetition of what has already been recorded
in Section I, along with a commentary of
Mūsā b. 'Isā al-Kasrawī in his book.*

He says: "I looked into the book called "Khudāy-Nāmah," which when translated from Persian into Arabic was known as 'Ta'rikhu Mulūki'l-Furs". Then I looked into other copies of the same book, and on reading them searchingly I discovered that all of them differed from one another, so that I could not succeed in getting even two copies agreeing in contents. This confusion has been due to the copyists transcribing from one book to another and from one language to another. Then I met with al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Hamadīnī, who made astronomical tables for his master al-'Alā b. Aḥmad at Marāghah, and who in this respect was the best informed person I have ever seen, and verified the years of the third and fourth dynasties of Persian kings, which ruled after Alexander, viz., the Ashghānians and the Sāsānians, by means of the Alexandrian era, which is recorded in the astronomical tables according to the calculations of the astronomers. Particularly we wanted to fix the number of years between the Alexandrian era and the Hegira, in order to make them a determining factor. We found that proved in the Observatory table exactly as I am going to mention here. According to the astronomers, the interval between the Alexandrian era and the Hegira, from the noon of Monday, the first of Tishrīn 1 to the noon of Thursday of Muḥarram, comprises 340901 days, which are equal to 961 lunar years and 154 days, which when converted into Chaldean, i.e., solar years (each containing $365\frac{1}{4}$ days) amount to 932 years and 289 days (i.e., 9 months and 19 days).

To these we added the years between the beginning of the Hegira and the end of the Persian empire, (for the last Persian king Yazdijird perished in 40 A.H.¹) and the total period arrived at was 972 years and 289 days. From these we deducted the period of rule of the Ashghānians, *viz.*, 266 years, and the entire period covered by the Sāsānians from the accession of Ardashīr to the death of Yazdijird came to be 786 years² and 289 days.

Now that we have correctly determined the years of rule of the Sāsānians, we wish to give further details about the number of kings, their names, and the years for which each of them reigned, also adding to the list three more names which have not been mentioned by the chroniclers. This error on their part is due to the similarity of certain names, *e.g.*, Yazdijird and Yazdijird, Bahrām and Bahrām. Thus the name of Yazdijird, the father of Yazdijird al-Athīm, and son of Bahrām b. Shāpūr, who was certainly more famous than his son al-Athīm, has been totally ignored and omitted. He was the friend of Sharwīn al-Dastānī, and was a kind and benign administrator, contrary to his son Yazdijird al-Athīm. The following story is told of his fidelity:—

It is said that one of the Byzantine emperors, at the time of his death, charged his minor son to the care of

1 This is evidently a mistake; for Yazdijird was assassinated in 31 A.H.=652 A.D.

2 Actually 706 years, although this calculation, too, is wrong, because 40 lunar years have not been converted into solar years. According to al-Birūnī, the Sāsānian rule upto the succession of Yazdijird b. Shahrīār lasted for 406 years (*vide* p. 121). To this, add 20 years of Yazdijird's reign and we have in all 426 years.

Yazdijird and requested him to send one of his able statesmen to rule the Greek provinces as a regent until his son should come of age. Yazdijird sent Sharwīn Barmiyān, the chief of the province of Dastanī, and appointed him to the Greek provinces, which he administered for twenty years. After that Yazdijird fulfilled his trust by returning the empire to the boy and recalled Sharwīn, who during his regency had built a town there, named Bāshirwān, which is called Bājarwān by the Arabs.

In the same way the chroniclers have omitted two other names on account of their similarity, *viz.*, Bahrām b. Bahrām b. Bahrām, and Bahrām b. Yazdijird b. Bahrām Gūr, the father of Fayrūz. I am now going to give the names of all the Sāsānian kings in order, so that by the grace of God, the Most Glorious, the defect in the manuscripts may become manifest :—

| | | |
|--|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Ardashīr b. Bābak | ... | 19 years, 6 months, ¹ |
| 2. Shāpūr al-Junūd b. Ardashīr | ... | 32 " 4 " |
| 3. Hurmuz b. Shāpūr | ... | 1 " 10 " |
| 4. Bahrām b. Hurmuz | ... | 9 " 3 " |
| 5. Bahrām b. Bahrām | ... | 23 " (17 years according to others), |
| 6. Bahrām b. Bahrām b. Bahram | ... | 13 years, 4 months, |
| 7. Narsī (Bahrām's brother) b. Bahrām b. Bahrām | ... | 9 " |
| 8. Hurmuz b. Narsī | ... | 13 " |
| 9. Shāpūr Dhu'l-Aktāf b. Harmuz | ... | 72 " |
| 10. Ardashīr b. Hurmuz (until Shāpūr's son became major) | ... | 4 " |

1 Al-Bīrūnī p. 123, 19 years, 10 months.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 11. Shāpūr b. Shāpūr (who was crowned while still in his mother's womb) | 82 years, |
| 12. Bahrām b. Shāpūr b. Shāpūr ... | 12 " |
| 13. Yazdijird, the Gentle (al- Layyin) b. Bahrām b. Shāpūr, the friend of Sharwīn al-Dastanī ... | 82 " |
| 14. Yazdijird, the Rough (al- Khashn) b. Yazdijird ... | 22 " 1 |
| 15. Bahrām Gūr b. Yazdijird | 23 " |
| 16. Yazdijird b. Bahrām Gūr | 18 " 5 months, |
| 17. Bahrām b. Yazdijird ... | 26 " 1 month, |
| 18. Fayrūz b. Bahrām ... | 29 " 1 day. |
| 19. Balāsh b. Fayrūz ... | 3 " |
| 20. Qubād (Balāsh's brother) b. Fayrūz ... | 68 " (according to as-Siyarū'l-Kabīr, and 43 years accord- ing to as-Siyarū's Ṣaghīr). |
| 21. Kasrā Anūshirwān ... | 47 years, 7 months, and some days, |
| 22. Hurmuz b. Kasrā ... | 23 years (according to others, 13 years), |
| 23. Kasrā Parwīz b. Hurmuz. | 38 years, |
| 24. Shīrwayh b. Kasrā ... | 8 months, |
| 25. Ardashīr b. Shīrwayh ... | 1 year, |
| 26. Shahrizād ² (not belonging to the royal family) ... | 38 days, |

1 Al-Birūnī, p. 128. 23 years.

2 Al-Birūnī (p. 128) gives Shahrbarāz, which seems to be more correct.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--------|------------------------|
| 27. | Būrandukht, daughter of Parwiz (It was she who returned the Cross to the Patriarch) | ... | 1 year and a few days, |
| 28. | Hushnubandah (not belonging to the royal family) | ... .. | 2 months, |
| 29. | Khusraw b. 'Ād b. Hurmuz b. Anūshirwān | ... | 10 months, |
| 30. | Fayrūz (one of the descendants of Ardashīr b. Bābak) | ... .. | 2 months, |
| 31. | Arzamīndukht, daughter of Parwiz | ... .. | 4 months, |
| 32. | Farrukh b. Khusraw Parwiz | ... .. | 1 month and some days, |
| 33. | Yazdijird b. Shahryār | ... | 20 years. |

Thus eight monarchs¹ following Kasrā Parwīz ruled for 4 years and 6 months only, and Yazdijird b. Shahryār was the ninth² of them. These are the dates of the Sāsānian kings of Persia, in the investigation of which I have taken the utmost pains, until I have been able to arrange them in this order.

As regards the dates of the Ashghānī kings, who preceded the Sāsānians, I have not troubled myself, being fully aware of the many disturbing events that took place in their days. The reason of this is that when Alexander conquered the land of Babylon and subjugated its people, he envied them for all their sciences, which no other nation possessed. He burnt all the books that fell into his hands, and then killed their

¹ Actually nine.

² Actually the tenth.

mobads, hirbads, learned men and scholars, and all those who preserved their historical sciences, sparing only laymen among them. This he did after he had got all that was necessary of their sciences translated into Greek. For the rest of the rule of the Ashghānids, there were tribal kings, of whose sciences and wisdom no record is left, until they got back their empire with the advent of Ardashīr. But when Ardashīr established himself, he reckoned the era from the beginning of his reign, and was, in this practice, followed by the succeeding sovereigns of the Sāsānian dynasty, every one of whom dated the era from the year of his own accession. In this way the dates got mixed up, and the Arab kings did well by counting their years of rule from the commencement of the year of the Hegira."

This is all al-Kasrawī has recounted, mentioning how diligently he searched in order to obtain the years of the Sāsānid rule in correspondence with the Alexandrian era. But what has been said by al-Kasrawī, inspite of his pretensions to having made thorough investigations, is also confused and does not conform to the Alexandrian era. According to his computation, the Sāsānid rule lasted for 696 years and 9 days; whereas according to my calculation based upon the astronomical table above spoken of, it lasted for 786 years, 9 months and 19 days. Thus there is a clear difference of 90 years, 9 months and 10 days.

SECTION III.

Repetition of all that has been mentioned in Section I, along with the commentary of Bahrām t. Mardānshāh, Mobid of the town of Shāpūr, which is situated in Fārs.

Bahrām, the Mobid, says: "I collected more than 20 copies of the book called 'Khudāy-Nāmah' in order

to establish the correct dates of Persian kings, right from the days of Kayūmarth, the Progenitor of mankind, upto the time of the passing away of their country into the hands of the Arabs.

The first man living on the surface of the earth was a man, called by Persians 'Kayūmarth Gilshāh', the King of Earth, for he ruled over the earth for 30 years. He left a son and a daughter, called Mashā and Mashyānah. They had no issue for the first 70 years¹; but 18 children, male and female, were born to them during the next 50 years. After their death the world remained without a ruler for 94 years and 8 months. Thus the entire period of non-rule since Kayūmarth upto the beginning of the reign of Ūshhang, the Pishdadian, is 294 years and 8 months. Ūshhang b. Firwāl b. Siyāmak b. Mashā b. Kayūmarth ruled for 40 years. Then Tahmūrath b. Nawbijahān b. Ayūnkahd b. Hūnkahd b. Ūshhang ruled over all the seven climes for 30 years. Then his brother Jam b. Nawbijahān ruled all the seven climes for 616 years. Afterwards he fled away from Biyūrāsb and lay in hiding for 100 years. Biyūrāsb ruled over all the seven climes for 1000 years. Then ruled Ifridūn b. Athfiyān over the clime of Hunayrah for 500 years. Then ruled Minūchihr for 120 years, although Afrāsiyāb, the Turk, occupied his kingdom with violence and force. Then ruled Zaw b. Tahmāsb for 4 years, although some outlying provinces were under the sway of Garshāsb.

Thus the entire period of the nine Persian kings of the first dynasty was 2734 years and 6 months.²

1 Al-Bīrūnī : 50 years, *vide* p. 108.

2 By total 2654 years, 8 months ; according to al-Bīrūnī 2634 years, for he gives only 50 ears to Masha and Mashyānah, *vide* p. 114.

The Second Dynasty.

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|------------|
| 1. Kay Qubād | ... | ... | 100 years, |
| 2. Kay Kā'ūs b. Kay Qubād | ... | ... | 150 " |
| 3. Kay Khusraw b. Siyāwush b. Kay Kā'ūs | ... | ... | 60 " |
| 4. Kay Luhrāsb | ... | ... | 120 " |
| 5. Kay Yushtāsb b. Kay Lurāsb | ... | ... | 120 " |
| 6. Ardashīr b. Isfandyār Gushtāsb, also called Bahman | ... | ... | 112 " |
| 7. Humā Chihrizād, daughter of Bahman b. Isfandyār, mother of Dārā b. Bahman | ... | ... | 30 " |
| 8. Dārā b. Bahman | ... | ... | 12 " |
| 9. Dārā b. Dārā b. Bahman | ... | ... | 14 " |

There were nine rulers of the second dynasty, which lasted for 718 yers. Afterwards the country was ruled by Alexander for 14 years, and then by a number of Greek governors and Persian ministers for 54 years, in all making a total of 68 years. God knows best!

The Third Dynasty.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|
| 1. Ashk b. Dārā b. Dārā | ... | ... | 10 years, |
| 2. Ashk b. Ashkān | ... | ... | 20 " |
| 3. Shāpūr b. Ashkān | ... | ... | 60 " |
| 4. Bahrām b. Shāpūr | ... | ... | 11 " |
| 5. Balāsh b. Bahrām | ... | ... | 11 " |
| 6. Hurmuz b. Balāsh | ... | ... | 19 ¹ " |
| 7. Narsī b. Balāsh ² | ... | ... | 40 " |
| 8. Fayrūz b. Hurmuz | ... | ... | 17 " |
| 9. Balāsh b. Fayrūz | ... | ... | 12 " |
| 10. Khusraw b. Milādān | ... | ... | 40 " |

1 Al-Birūnī gives 40 years, *vide* p. 118.

2 This king has been omitted in the Chronology of Ancient Nations, *vide* p. 118, and his years of rule assigned to Hurmuz.

| | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----------|
| 11. Balāshān | ... | ... | 24 years, |
| 12. Ardawān b. Balāshān | ... | ... | 13 " |
| 13. Ardawān, the Elder, b. Ashkānān | ... | ... | 23 " |
| 14. Khusraw b. Ashkānān | ... | ... | 20 " |
| 15. Bihāfrīd b. Ashkānān | ... | ... | 15 " |
| 16. Balāsh b. Ashkānān | ... | ... | 22 " |
| 17. Gūdarz b. Ashkānān | ... | ... | 30 " |
| 18. Narsī b. Ashkānān | ... | ... | 20 " |
| 19. Ardawān, the Younger, (called "Ādam" in Persian) | ... | ... | 31 " |

This is the entire period covered by the Third Dynasty, which had, along with Alexander, 20 kings, who reigned 463 years,¹ as found in the books.

The Fourth Dynasty.

| | | |
|---|-----|--|
| 1. Ardashīr b. Bābāk | ... | 14 years and 10 months (excluding 30 years which he spent in reducing the Tribal Kings). |
| 2. Shāpūr b. Ardashīr | ... | 30 years, 15 days, |
| 3. Hurmuz b. Shāpūr* | ... | 2 " |
| 4. Bahrām b. Hurmuz* | ... | 3 " 3 months, |
| 5. Bahrām b. Bahrām* | ... | 17 " |
| 6. Bahrām b. Bahrām b. Bahrām | ... | 40 " 4 months, |
| 7. Narsī (brother of Bahrām) b. Bahrām | ... | 9 " |
| 8. Hurmuz b. Narsī | ... | 7 " |
| 9. Shāpūr b. Hurmuz | ... | 72 " |

¹ According to the calculation 447 years, to which may be added 54 years of Alexander's successors.

* Al-Bīrūnī omits Bahrām b. Bahrām, and assigns 3 years, 3 months to Hurmuz b. Shapūr, and 17 years to Bahrām b. Hurmuz, see p. 125.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 10. Ardashir (brother of Shāpūr) | 4 years, |
| 11. Shāpūr ... | 5 " |
| 12. Bahrām b. Shāpūr Kirmān-shāh ... | 11 " |
| 13. Yazdijird al-Athim b. Bahrām ... | 21 " 5 months, 18 days, |
| 14. Bahrām Gūr b. Yazdijird... | 19 " 11 months, |
| 15. Yazdijird b. Bahrām Gūr... | 14 " 4 " 18 days, |
| 16. Fayrūz b. Yazdijird ... | 17 " |
| 17. Balāsh b. Fayrūz ... | 4 " |
| 18. Qubād b. Fayrūz ... | 41 " |
| 19. Kasrā b. Qubād ... | 48 " |
| 20. Hurmuz b. Kasrā ... | 12 " |
| 21. Kasrā b. Hurmuz b. Kasrā Parwiz ... | 38 " |
| 22. Qubād b. Kasrā b. Shīrwayh | 8 months, |
| 23. Ardashir b. Shīrwayh ... | 1 " 6 " |
| 24. Burāndukht, daughter of Kasrā ... | 1 " 4 " |
| 25. Fayrūz, called Hushnubandah | A few days, ¹ |
| 26. Arzamīndukht, daughter of Parwiz ... | 6 months (including the days of the reign of Hushnubandah). |
| 27. Khurzād Khusraw b. Parwiz | 1 year, |
| 28. Yazdijird b. Shahryār ... | 20 years. |

This is the entire period of the Fourth Dynasty. There were in all 28 monarchs who ruled for 465 years, 1 month, and 22 days,² exclusive of the 30 years which Ardashir spent in waging war with the Tribal Kings.

¹ Al-Bīrūnī gives 1 month, see p. 125.

² By total 466 years, 3 months and 21 days.

Thus from the day of Creation upto the last day of the Sāsānian empire, there were 66 monarchs, who ruled for 4409 years, 9 months and 22 days.

SECTION IV.

A brief history of the Persian kings, corresponding to the tables given above, and in conformity with what is to be found in the biographical books.

ŪSHHANG.

Ūshhang, the Pīshdādian, was the first Persian king. The word 'Pīshdād' signifies 'the first ruler,' because he was the first to rule over the land. He was crowned at Ištakhr, which, on that account, was called 'Būmshāh' or the "Land of the King". It is supposed by Persians that he and his brother Wikart were prophets. Among the new things that he introduced was that he dug out iron and contrived to make weapons out of it, and other tools of artisans. He also ordered people to hunt animals and kill them.

TAHMŪRATH.

Tahmūrath Zībāwand, which means Tahmūrath, the Sharp-Weaponed. He built the town of Babylon and the Castle of Merv. In some books we read that he built Kardīndād, which is one of the seven towns of al-Madā'in. I think it is the same as Kardābād, [on which there was a Dastān (?)], but is incorrectly written as Kardīndād. He also built two great edifices in Iṣfahān, one of them called Mahrīn and the other Sārawayh. As regards Mahrīn, it gave its name to the village in which it was built, and which before that was called Kūk. As regards Sārawayh, it was, after thousands of years, surrounded by the ramparts of the town of Jay. The ruins of both these edifices are still visible.

In his days the worship of idols and the painting of images came into vogue. The reason of this was that many people lost their dear ones; therefore they made effigies after their form in order to console themselves by looking at them. After a long lapse of time this custom degenerated into worship, and they began to adore them under the belief that they were intermediaries between themselves and God, and that they brought them nearer to Him. In his days also the institution of fasting came into fashion. The innovators of this were a set of poor people, who followed a man named Yudāsp. This man found it impossible to procure food for them, and so they managed to go without it during the day, and then drank a little water just to keep themselves alive. They continued in this way for a time, until it became a creed for them to worship God. These sects were called Kaldānians (Chaldeans) who, during the Muslim rule, styled themselves as Ṣābi'ūn. The Ṣābians, in reality, were a sect of Christians, who lived in the tract between the Baṭīḥah (the Great Swamp) and the desert. They differed from the rest of Christians and were held as heretics. Tahmārath is reported to have said: "Every nation likes its own creed, and therefore do not interfere with them." This custom is still prevalent in India.

JAMSHĪD.

Shīd signifies 'light' and hence the sun is called 'Khurshīd'. It is supposed that Jamshīd was so called because of the divine light shining from his face. His whole name is Jam b. Finwinhkān b. Ahunkahd b. Ayunkahd b. Ūshhang, the Pīshdādian. Biographical books are full of stories about him, which, however, I have ignored for fear of prolixity. Among the new things that he accomplished was a bridge that he built over the Tigris. It remained in existence for a long time,

until it was destroyed by Alexander. Latter kings tried to restore it, but could not, and instead they built another bridge by making new arches over the old ones. The traces of this bridge are still visible in the pits of the Tigris, near the western bank, adjacent to the two towns of Madā'in, and fishermen avoid going to the western bank, when the water is low. It was he who planned the city of Ctesiphon, the biggest of the seven towns comprising al-Madā'in.

BIYŪRĀSP.

Biyūrāsp Dah Āg (Dah=ten; Āg=fire or calamity), was so called because he brought about ten calamities in the world, which, however, cannot be mentioned here. This is the ugliest title, but when it was arabicised it became exceedingly beautiful. For, Dah-āg, when arabicised, became *Ḍahḥāk* (the laughing one), as he is denoted in Arabic works. His descent is: Biyūrāsp b. Arwandāsp b. Rikāwan b. Mādih Sarih b. Tāj b. Siyāmak n. Mashā b. Kayūmarth. Tāj, his grandfather, was the ancestor of the Arabs, wherefore they are called Tājians. Biyūrāsp used to camp in Babylon, where he built his abode in the shape of a crane and called it "Kulang Dis," which is known among the people as Diman Ḥat.

FARIDŪN.

Faridūn b. Athfiyān ruled over the clime of Hunayrah for 500 years. It is supposed that the prophet Abraham appeared in the 30th year of his reign. It is also said that Moses appeared in the days of Minūchihr, and brought away the Israelites from Egypt. In the days of Kay Khusraw, Sulaimān ruled over the Israelites. In the days of Luhrāsp, Nebuchadnezzar directed himself to the west, destroyed Jerusalem, the town of the Jews,

brought them as captives to the East and distributed them all over the eastern towns for various professions. Zardusht appeared in the days of Gushtāsp, and Alexander in the days of Dārā. Christ appeared in the days of Shāpūr b. Ashk, Mānī in the days of Shāpūr b. Ardashīr, and Mazdak in the days of Qubād.

It is said that Faridūn divided his kingdom among his sons, Salm, Tūr and Īraj. To Īraj, the youngest of them all, he assigned 'Irāq, all its surrounding territories along with the Occident and India, and declared him as his successor to the throne ; to Salm, his eldest son, he allotted the Byzantine kingdom extending to the Frankish country along with the Occident ; and to Tūr, his middle son, he gave Tibet, China and the eastern countries. Salm and Tūr both became jealous of Īraj and killed him.

Faridūm was the first to introduce incantations and to prepare an antidote from the body of snakes. He founded the science of medicine, discovered herbs for the treatment of physical ailments, and made asses cover mares in order to produce mules, combining the strength of asses and the speed of horses. He used to alight at Babylon, and God knows best !

MINŪCHIHĀR.

He was a son of Īraj, son of Faridūn. It was he who dug the rivers Euphrates and Mihrān, which is greater than the Euphrates, and excavated several large channels from the Euphrates and the Tigris. It was in the 60th year of his reign that Moses (on him be peace!) took out the Israelites from Egypt and remained in the Tih (desert), administering their affairs for forty years, during which he wrote the book of Pentateuch for them. It was also during the reign of Minūchihār that the Vice-gerent of Moses brought the Israelites to Palestine.

Minūchihr transplanted various kinds of flower-shrubs from the mountains, and planted them in a fertile soil surrounded by walls. When their fragrance diffused, he called these enclosures by the name of Būstān, which means a place of fragrance and sweet smell. During his reign, Afrāsiyāb, the Turk, captured his kingdom for 12 years, compelled him to quit the throne and confined him to the forests of Tabaristān. Afrāsiyāb, during his ascendancy over Īran, went on destroying the towns, rasing the forts to the ground, blocking the rivers, filling up the channels with earth, and drying up the springs of water. During the last five years of his dominance, a severe famine broke out among the people and lasted upto the end of his reign. The waters got dried up, the lands became barren and the cultivation scarce, until God destroyed him. Afrāsiyāb built the portion of the Wall of Merv, between the Qubandaz and the turning near the Gate of Niq. God knows what is open and what is secret!

ZAW B. TAHMĀSP.

When Zaw came to the throne, he issued orders for the restoration of all the towns and forts which Afrāsiyāb had destroyed, and also for digging the rivers blocked by him. He removed the taxes and tolls that were levied by him, and soon the country became prosperous and thriving more than ever before. He dug two rivers in the region of Sawād, called az-Zibayn, and sweetened the water of the Tigris by their means. In his reign was born Kay Qubād, the founder of the Kayānian dynasty, and Garshāsp, too, was contemporaneous with him.

KAY QUBĀD.

When Kay Qubād became king, people began to cultivate the land, and paid the tithe of their corn produce towards the maintenance of the army, the

defence of the frontier and the repulsion of the enemies. Formerly the province of Iṣfahan consisted of only one district, like Ray, but Kay Qubād added another district to it and called it "Istān Īrānu Thārit Kuwādh", which in the days of Hārūnu'r-Rashid contained the villages under the prefecture of Qum.

KAY KA'US.

He resided at Balkh, and I have read in some books of biography that he was born at Babylon, where he built a lofty edifice rising into the air. I surmise it is the same as the building called 'Aqraqūf beyond Baghdād, for there is no other monument in that part of the country. Some chroniclers state that this edifice was called as-Ṣarḥ. This may be true, for a palace in the language of the Nabatheans of 'Irāq and of Syria is called "Ṣarḥa" and "Ma'dalā", which in their Arabic form read as Ṣarḥ and Ma'dal.

KAY KHUSRAW.

According to Persians he was a prophet who appeared in Balkh. It is recorded in their histories that he was informed that there was a red mountain, named Kūshid between the territories of Fārs and Iṣfahān, and that in that mountain was a dragon, which destroyed filth and mankind. He marched towards it, collected all the people living on the top of the mountain, and himself stood at the foot of the mountain to face the monster, which he killed. He then erected by the side of the mountain a fire-temple, which came to be known as the temple of Kūshid.

KAY LUHRĀSP.

Luhrāsp was the deputy of Kay Khusraw over his kingdom and was his cousin, for Luhrāsp was the son of

Kay Āvajān b. Kay Manish b. Kay Fashin b. Kay Afūh. He was the first to have introduced the Military Roll. He made thrones for the satraps and bedecked them with bracelets. In the 60th year of his reign, Bukhtnaṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) b. Wayw b. Gūdarz, invaded Palestine and destroyed Jerusalem. He captured the Jews and made them servants and slaves of the people of his kingdom. Before Nebuchadnezzar, Luhrāsp had despatched Sennacherib of Nineveh against the Jews, but he could not prevail against them. He left his kingdom to his son before he died.

GUSHTĀSP.

He was 50 years old and had by the time ruled for 30 years, when Zardusht appeared before him at Adharbayjān, offering him to accept his religion. He believed in him and sent envoys to the Greeks, calling upon them to embrace the new religion. They produced an epistle of Faridūn, granting them liberty of religion. Gushtāsp, therefore, left them alone, not liking to break the covenant which they held in their hands. He built in Dārābjird, a district in the province of Fārs, a triangular city, and called it Rām Washnāsqān, which is the same as the town of Fasā. Afterwards one of its citizens, by name Āzād Mard Kāmgār, who was the governor of Fārs on behalf of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, broke its walls, and turned its triangular shape into a circular one. In the days of Gushtāsp, his son Isfandiyār built a 20 leagues long barrier beyond Samarqand, against the inroads of the Turks. Gushtāsp erected a fire-temple in Munawwar, a village situated in the district of Anārābād, in the province of Iṣṭahan, and endowed the revenues of the district for its upkeep.

KAY ARDASHĪR.

He is Bahman b. Isfandiyār b. Gushtāsp, and was called "Longhanded" (Longimanus) on account of his remote expeditions. It is said that his expeditions extended as far as Rūmīyah and that he invaded Dhābulistān and made captives of many people. In the region of Sawād, he built a town, which he named "Ābād Ardashīr" after his own name. It is called Hamānīyah in the Nabathean language and is situated in the sub-district of az-Zābu'l-A'lā (the Upper Zāb). He built another town in the district of Maysān and called it "Bahman Ardashīr" after his own name. This town is known as Furātu'l-Baṣrah (the Euphrates of Baṣrah). The Israelites suppose that Bahman, in their language, is the same as Korash of their historical books. He is said to have built in Iṣfahān three fire-temples in the course of a single day, one at sunrise, one at noontide and one at sunset. Of these the first temple of Shahr Ardashīr (Shahr = twilight and Ardashīr = Bahman) was near the castle of Mārīn; the second, Dharwān Ardashīr in Dārak, a village in the rural district of Khwār; and the third, Mihr Ardashīr, in the village of Ardistān.

HUMĀ CHIHRAZĀD.

She was Shamīrān, the daughter of Bahman, and Humā was her agnomen. She used to reside in Balkh. She sent one military expedition against Greece. Among the many captives that were brought back, there were skilful artisans, whom she employed to build the palaces of Iṣṭakhr, called "Hazār Sitūn" in Persian. These were three mansions built in three places, the one beside Iṣṭakhr, the second along the road leading to the town of Dārābjird, and the third along the road leading to Khurāsān. She also set up a beautiful town of fine

architecture in Taymarah, a rural district in the province of Isfahan. This town, which she named Ḥamhīn, was afterwards destroyed by Alexander.

DĀRĀ B. BAHMAN.

He was the first king to establish postal stations, in which he built rooms for horses with docked tails. Hence the institution was called "Burīd Dhanab". When this word was arabicised, the last component part was elided, and the system came to be called "Barīd". He completed the construction of the town of Dārābjird, which was first begun by Dārā. It gave its name to the province, which heretofore was known as Istān Farkān. God knows best!

DĀRĀ B. DĀRĀ

In his days Alexander rose in the West. At this time all the nations—Egyptians and Berbers in the West, Greeks and Slavs in the North, and the Jarāmiqah and Jarājimah of Syria and Palestine—used to pay tribute to the kings of Persia. When Alexander became master of the West, he refused to pay the tribute to the officers of Dārā and said to them: "Inform Dārā that the hen which had laid eggs upto this time has ceased to give any more eggs." This was the cause of the war between Dārā and Alexander, until Dārā was slain. He built at Nisībayn a town called Dārān, which exists upto this day and is known as Dāryā.

ALEXANDER.

When Alexander finished with Dārā and overran Persia, he became perverted and trespassed all limits in shedding blood. In his army there were 7000 Persian nobles, who were led in chains as captives, and of whom 21 were being killed every day, until he reached

Kāshghar. He tarried there for a while and then returned towards Babylon. When he reached Qūmis, he was taken ill. On the way he became worse and succumbed before reaching Babylon, which had been reduced by him to a mound of dust. According to some anecdotists, Alexander is reported to have built twelve cities in Irān, all bearing the name of Alexandria—one in Iṣfahān, one in Harāt, one in Merv, one in Samarqand, one in Ṣughd, one in Babylon, one in Maysān, and four in Sawād. But this story is a pure invention and has absolutely no foundation; for Alexander was more of a destroyer than a builder.

THE ASHGHAŪ KINGS.

When Alexander finished slaying all the nobles and respectable worthies of Persia, and had had the full measure of destroying the cities and fortresses, gaining all that he desired, he wrote to Aristototele:—"I have avenged myself on the entire East by slaying their kings and destroying their forts and strongholds. I am now afraid lest after my death they should be able to invade the West. I am therefore intending to deal with the descendants of the kings whom I have slain, by collecting them in one place and making them join their fathers. Let me know what is your opinion in this matter." Aristotle wrote back saying: "If you kill the sons of kings, the country will pass on to the low and the baseborn. And when these low men become kings and attain to power, they will rebel and rise against you and transgress the limits; and the consequences of their atrocities will be still worse. Therefore my opinion is that you should collect the scions of kings and appoint each one of them to a town or a district. Then if any one quarrels with another for what he possesses, enmity and hatred will prevail among

them, and thus occupied with their own affairs, they will have no time to think of those who are remote from them in the West." Following this advice, Alexander parcelled out the eastern countries among the tribal kings, and took away from their country to the West the sciences of astronomy, medicine, philosophy and agriculture, after he had got them translated into Greek and Coptic. When Alexander perished and the country fell into the hands of the tribal kings, they gave up all warfare and contention among themselves. They tried to excel one another only in abstruse problems. It was in their days that books such as Marūk, Sindbād, Barsinās, Shīmās and the like, which are commonly found in the hands of people, were composed. Such books were about 70 in number. In this way they continued until more than twenty of them ruled as kings, and some of them were ambitious enough to lead warlike expeditions against other countries. There were in all ninety of these tribal kings, and they respected the king who ruled over Irāq and resided at Ctesiphon, which is the same as Madā'in. Whenever he corresponded with them, he began with his name first. Below are mentioned the names of kings who led military expeditions against foreign countries.

SHĀPŪR B. ASHK.

Of those who led military expeditions against foreign countries, was Shāpūr b. Ashk b. Udhrān b. Ashghān. It was in his days that Christ appeared. He led a military expedition against Greece when it was ruled by Antiochus. He ruthlessly killed and captured the Greeks, collected their children in boats and drowned them, exclaiming, "O for the vengeance of Dārā." He succeeded in retaking what Alexander had removed from Persia and restored it to his own land. A portion

of the booty was spent upon digging a river in 'Irāq, called in Arabic "the River of the King" (Nahru'l-Malik).

GÜDARZ B. ASHK.

Of these also was Gūdarz b. Ashk, who fought against the Israelites and this took place after the death of Yahyā (John) b. Zakariyyā (Zacharias) (on both be peace!). He destroyed the city of Jerusalem for the second time, put the people to the sword, slew the Jews extensively and captivated a number of them. Before him, Titus son of Isfīyānūs (?), the Byzantine emperor, had fought against the Jews in 40 A.D., slaying and captivating them.

BALĀSH B. KHUSRAW.

Of these also was Balāsh b. Khusraw. He was informed that the Romans intended to invade Persia. He therefore wrote to all the neighbouring tribal kings and called upon them for help. Every one of them sent to him money and men according to his capacity. When Balāsh felt sufficiently strong, he appointed the ruler of al-Khiḍr, a tribal king adjacent to the Roman provinces, to lead the armies. He encountered the Roman forces unitedly and with full preparations, slew the Roman emperor, routed his army and returned with a large booty to 'Irāq, and sent one-fifth of the booty to Balāsh. These expeditions compelled the Romans to spend vast sums of money over the building of a large fortified city. They shifted their capital from Rūmiyah to the new city, because it was within an easy reach of the Persian territory. Their choice fell on the site of Constantinople, where they built their head quarters and established their government. Since this city was built in the days of Emperor Constantine, it took its name from him. He was the first emperor who embraced Christianity and

invited his subjects to it. He expelled the Jews from Jerusalem, and until this day they have no home of theirs.

ARDASHĪR B. BĀBAK.

Ardashīr first of all took hold of the city of Ištakhr, and then gradually consolidated his power by means of its people. By their help he overcame a number of tribal kings in the province of Fārs. When he got control of the province of Fārs, he was crowned king. After that he began to look into the affairs of the people. He saw around himself numerous petty kings, each one of whom ruled over a small tract of land and ground down his subjects under heavy taxes. He did not like this kind of diversity in their realms, inspite of the unity of their religion. He knew that nothing but ties of ancient love must have bound them together in the matter of religion, and so he asked those men at his court, who were well-informed about the religious matters and the state of the country, the cause of the disruption in which he found the kings of his age. They told him that their country was well administered by the early kings, because it was governed by one supreme ruler, whom the subjects obeyed in all respects. In consequence of this, their religion was respected, their country prosperous and their enemies subdued. When Dārā b. Dārā became king, his subjects began to hate him, being tired of his misrule, and refrained from helping him against the common foe. As a result of this, the frontiers were left defenceless, and much quarrelling and fighting became rife in the country. It was amidst this general disruption that Alexander invaded from the West, and found things much to his desire. All this encouraged Alexander to wage war with Dārā. It so chanced that one of the satellites of Dārā pounced upon him, shot him from

behind and slew him. After this Alexander overran the kingdom of Fārs, butchered its great men and nobles, and destroyed cities and forts one and all. Then he resorted to the books of their religion and their sciences, and burnt them to ashes, after getting the books dealing with philosophy, astronomy, medicine and agriculture translated from Persian into Greek and Coptic, and sent those translations to Alexandria.

After learning this, Ardashīr knew that he would not be able to promulgate justice among the people and control them by the art of administration, until they were united under one king. He thought he should be instrumental in bringing them together and in leading them to what was conducive to their well-being. He therefore began to send epistles to the neighbouring tribal kings exhorting them to this purpose. This was the first step of his policy; but as time went on he gave a newer shape to his policy according to the varying circumstances, until he was able to purge the empire of Irānshahr by slaying ninety of the tribal kings.

Ardashīr built a number of new cities, such as Ardashīr Khurrah, Bih Ardashīr, Bahman Ardashīr, Insha' Ardashīr, Rām Ardashīr, Rāmhurmuz Ardashīr, Hurmuz Ardashīr, Būd Ardashīr, Wahasht Ardashīr and Batn Ardashīr. As regards Khurrah Ardashīr, it is the town of Fayrūzābād, situated in Fārs, and was called Gūr. ((Gūr and Gār are two nouns meaning a low place or a pit, and not a grave, for Persians did not know graves and disposed of their dead in charnel houses and sepulchral vaults)). It was 'Alī b. Buwayh who changed its name to Fayrūzābād. As regards Bih Ardashīr, it is the name of two towns, one in 'Irāq and the other in Kirmān. The one in 'Irāq was one of the seven towns of Madā'in and stood on the western bank of the Tigris,

and its name was arabicised into Bihrasīr; while the other one in Kirmān was arabicised into Bardashīr. As regards Bahman Ardashīr, it is the name of a town on the bank of Dijlatu'l-'Awra in Maysān, and the people of Basrah call it by two names, Bahmanshīr and Furāt Maysān. As regards Insha' Ardashīr, it is the name of a town on the bank of the Dujayl, and is also called Karkh Maysān. As regards Rām Ardashīr, I do not know of its situation. As regards Rām¹ Ardashīr, it is called Rishahr (Rayshar?) by the people of our time. As regards Rāmhurmuz Ardashīr, it is one of the towns of Khuzistān. Since its name consists of so many letters, the last word was dropped out of it. As regards Hurmuz Ardashīr, it is the name of two towns. When Ardashīr planned these towns, he called each one of them by a name compounded of his own name and that of God. He caused one of them to be inhabited by common people and the other with aristocrats and nobles. The town of common people also came to be called Hūjistān Wājār, which in due course of time was arabicised into Sūq Ahwāz. The name of the other town, too, was arabicised into Hurmushīr. When the Arabs reached Khuzistān, they destroyed the city of the aristocrats, but spared the city of common people. Afterwards during the war of Ḥajjāj with the Qurra² they also destroyed two other towns of Khuzistān, one of them called Rustam Kuwādh, which was arabicised into Rasīqābād, and the other Jawāstād. As regards Būd Ardashīr, it is one of the towns of Mawṣil (Mosul). As regards Wahasht Ardashīr, I do not know of its

1 The Latin translation gives Rāv, which seems to be more probable, although it is not given in the above list of names.

2 Qurra', i. e., the Readers of the Qur'ān, constituted the army of Ibnū'l-Ash'ath, against whom Ḥajjāj was fighting.

whereabouts. As regards Batn Ardashīr, it was one of the towns in Baḥrayn. It was called Batn Ardashīr, because its walls were raised over the dead bodies of its inhabitants who had thrown the allegiance of Ardashīr and disobeyed his authority. He made one row of the walls with bricks and the other with carcases. He divided the waters of the river of Iṣfahān with the help of Mihr b. Wardān. He also divided the waters of the river of Khuzistān and dug several canals out of it. One of these canals was called "al-Mashriqayn" and in Persian bore the name of "Ardashīrkān".

In the "Book of Portraits" of the Sāsānid kings, Ardashīr is represented as wearing an ornate vest, trousers of sky-blue, and a green tiara set in gold, and holding a lance in his hand.

SHĀPŪR B. ARDASHĪR.

Shāpūr b. Ardashīr built Shādhrawān Tustar, which is one of the marvels of the East. He built many new cities, such as Nishāpūr, Bishāpūr, Shādshāpūr, Bih-az-Andi-w-Shāpūr, Shāpūr Khwasht, Balāsh Shāpūr and Fayrūz Shāpūr. As regards Nishapūr, it is a town in Īrshahr, one of the districts of Khurāsān. As regards Bishāpūr, it is one of the towns of Fārs and also gives its name to the district, in which it is situated. In Arabic the name of this town is abbreviated into Shāpūr. This city was built by Shāpūr over the ruins of another city built by Ṭahmūrath and later on destroyed by Alexander, but its old name has been forgotten. As regards Shād Shāpūr, it is the name of a town in Maysan and was called Wahbā in the Nabathæan language. As regards Fayrūz Shāpūr, it is the name of one of the towns in 'Irāq, and is called Anbār in Arabic. As regards Bih-az-Andi-w-Shāpūr, it is one of the towns of Khuzistān and is known as Jund-i-

Shāpūr in Arabic. Its meaning in Persian is "Better than Antioch," for Andīw was a name of Antioch. The design of this town was in the form of the chess-board, with eight roads in the middle crossed by other eight roads. Towns in those days used to be built according to the figures of different objects. For instance, the town of Sūs was built in the form of a hawk and that of Tustar in the form of a horse.

According to the Book of Portraits of the Sasanid kings, Shāpūr's vest is of sky-blue, trousers of red embroidered cloth, and tiara of red mixed with green. He is seen standing and holding a lance in his hand.

HURMUZ B. SHĀPŪR.

In his features and stature, he resembled his grandfather, Ardashīr, and was possessed of great prowess and courage, but he was not so perfect in judgment. His mother was Gardzād, whose name has become celebrated on account of a well known story. He built the edifice which is to be found in the royal city.

His vest, according to the Book of Portraits, is red embroidered, his trousers green and his tiara green in gold. He is seen riding a lion, with a lance in his right hand and a shield in his left.

BAHRĀM B. HURMUZ.

In his days, Mānī (Manes), the heresiarch, who had run away and was in hiding for two years, was discovered. Shāpūr confronted him with the learned, who disputed with him and defeated his arguments publicly. He was ordered to be executed. His was flayed and his skin stuffed with hay and hung up on one of the gates of the town of Jund-i-Shāpūr.

According to the Book of Portraits, Bahrām's vest is red, trousers also red, and tiara of sky-blue, with two crests and a lunula of gold. He is seen standing, with a lance in his right hand and a sword in his left, on which he is resting. Such is his portrait, and God knows best!

BAHRĀM B. BAHRĀM.

His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers are green; and his tiara is sky-blue between two crests and a crescent of gold. He is seen sitting on his throne, with a strung bow in his right hand and three arrows in his left. God knows best!

Bahrām b. Bahrām b. Bahrām. He was also called Bahrām b. Bahrāmān. His title was Sagānshāh. The reason of this title and similar others is that when a Persian king appointed a son or a brother of his as his heir-apparent, he was called Shāh of a particular principality, and this title stuck to him through the life-time of his father. When the crown passed on to him he was called Shāhinshāh. In this way Bahrām was called Kirmānshāh; and Nūshirwān, during the life-time of his father, Qubād, bore the title of Yaqar Qad Sajān Gar Shāh, which is the title of the ruler of Ṭabaristān. (For Yaqar signifies a mountain; Qad Sajān, plain or the foot of a mountain, Kar, a hill or a mound; and Sajān is a name for Sijistān).

The vest of Bahrām b. Bahrāmān is of sky-blue and embroidered; his trousers are red; and he is seen sitting on his throne and leaning with his hand on his sword. His tiara is green and has two apices and one lunula of gold.

NARSĪ B. BAHRĀM.

His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers are of sky-blue and embroidered; and he is seen standing, with

both the hands resting on his sword. His tiara is red. God knows the secrets best!

HURMUZ B. NARSĪ.

He built in Khuzistān, in the province of Rām Hurmuz, a village named Wahasht Hurmuz (also known as Kūrank). It is adjacent to Īdhaj, which is also situated in the province of Rāmhumuz.

His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers, too, are embroidered on sky-blue; his tiara is green; and he is seen standing, with both the hands resting on his sword. God knows best!

SHĀPŪR DHU'L AKTĀF.

He was also called Huwayh-Sunbā (huwayh = shoulder; sunbā = piercer, perforator). He got this cognomen, because whenever he fought the Arabs and took them captives, he used to bore their shoulder-blades and combine them by means of a hook. For this reason he was called Huwayh-Sunbā by Persians, and Dhu'l-Aktāf by Arabs. Shāpūr's father died before he was born and the crown was placed on the abdomen of his mother. It was he who entered the Roman territory in disguise. He got into their churches and was apprehended. He ruled for seventy-two years, of which the first thirty years he passed in Jund-i-Shāpūr, and then removed to Madā'in, where he spent the remaining years of his life. When he defeated the Roman emperor, he made him agree that he would restore all that he had destroyed, and that in restoring he would use baked bricks and lime instead of ordinary clay bricks and mud plaster. Thus the walls of Jund-i-Shāpūr were half clay bricks and half baked bricks.

His vest is rosy and embroidered; his trousers, red and embroidered; and he is seen sitting on the throne

with a battle-axe in his hand. His tiara is of sky-blue, with gold colour round about, and having two apices of gold and a crescent of gold in its centre.

He built several towns, of which may be mentioned: Barzakh Shāpūr, *i.e.*, 'Ukbar Awāzān, Khurrah Shāpūr, *i.e.*, as-Sūs, and another town beside it. Then he sent elephants to trample one of them (?), for its inhabitants had disobeyed him. Afterwards he brought many captives from a Roman province and settled them in the new town (al-ḥadīthah ?). The remaining prisoners were scattered all over the country. He erected a fire-temple, named Surūsh Adhrān, in the village of Harwān, which is situated in the rural district of Jay, and endowed on it the revenue of the villages of Yawān and Jājāh, both of which are situated in the rural district of Najjān. In his time appeared the heresiarch Adharbād¹ on whose chest molten brass was poured.

ARDASHĪR B. SHĀPŪR.

His vest is embroidered brocade of sky-blue; his trousers are embroidered on red; his tiara is green; and he is seen holding a lance in his right hand and leaning upon his sword with his left. God knows best!

SHĀPŪR B. SHĀPŪR.

His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers are of sky-blue; under his vest there is another vest of yellow; his tiara is green mixed with red, having two apices and a lunula of gold; and he is standing with a steel staff in his hand, surmounted by the head of a bird, and resting his left hand on the hilt of his sword.

¹ In the Arabic text "Izdiyād".

BAHRĀM B. SHĀPŪR.

He was called Kirmānshāh. He was coarse and conceited. He never read a story throughout his reign or looked into the wrongs of his people. At his death, all the letters coming from the various districts were found with seals unbroken. He ordered the following inscription to be written on his sepulchral vault: "We know that this body will soon be deposited in this edifice, and will neither be benefited by the advice of a kind friend, nor affected by the scorn of a foe."

His vest is embroidered and sky-blue; trousers red and embroidered; and his tiara set amidst three apices and a lunula of gold. He is seen standing with a lance in his right hand, and resting his left hand on his sword. God knows best!

YAZDIJIRD AL-ATHĪM B. BAHRĀM.

He was also called al-Mujrim (the Sinner) and al-Fazz (the Rough), and Dafr and Bazah-gar in Persian.

His vest is of red; his trousers of sky-blue; his tiara also of sky-blue; and he is seen standing with a lance in his hand.

BAHRĀM GŪR B. YAZDIJIRD.

His feats are well known in Turkistān, Greece and India. He had gone to India in disguise. He made his people work for half the day and spend the remaining half in resting, eating various viands, drinking and recreating. He also enjoined them to drink to the accompaniment of music and singing. In consequence of this, musicians were in great demand and the fee of a set of musicians sometimes exceeded a hundred dirhams. One day he passed by a group of people drinking without

singers and remarked, "Have I not ordered you not to neglect singers at the time of drinking?" Thereupon all of them made obeisance and said, "We sought for a singer and were prepared to pay more than a hundred dirhams, but we could not secure one." There and then he asked for pen and paper and wrote to the king of India for singers. The latter sent to him 12,000 singers, whom he distributed all over his kingdom. Here they married and begot children, who, though few in numbers, are still to be seen. They were of the Zutt race. He caused the following inscription to be written on his sepulchral vault: "After our power was established in the world, we left in it praiseworthy mementoes; therefore leave unto us this place which we are sure to occupy."

His vest is of sky-blue; his trousers green and embroidered; and his tiara is of sky-blue. He is sitting on the throne, with a mace in his hand.

YAZDIJIRD AL-LAYYIN B. BAHRAM.

His vest is green; his trousers are black and embroidered in gold; his tiara is of sky-blue; and he is sitting on the throne, and leaning on his sword. God knows best!

FAYRŪZ B. YAZDIJIRD.

His vest is red; his trousers are of sky-blue, embroidered in gold; his tiara, too, is of sky-blue; and he is sitting on the throne, holding a lance in his hand.

He built several towns—one of them in India, another on the borders of India, another in the neighbourhood of Ray, another near Jurjān, and another near Adharbayjān. He compounded them all with his own name. For instance, he called one of the towns in India

Rām Fayrūz and the other Rūshī Fayrūz. He built a wall beyond the river (*i.e.*, Oxus) between the land of Īrān and Turkistān. He entrusted the completion of the wall of the town of Jay and the locking of its gates to one Adharshāpūr b. Adhar Mānān al-Īsfahānī, and for that he granted him the writ, known as Ḥafnah (?). He ordered half of the Jewish population of Īsfahān to be put to death and their children to be sent as slaves to the fire-temple of Surūsh Adhrān in the village of Harwān, as they had flayed the skin from the backs of two Magian doctors, joined the two skins and used them for tanning.

BALĀSH B. FAYRŪZ.

His vest is green; his trousers are red and embroidered in black and white; his tiara is of sky-blue; and he is standing with a lance in his hand.

He built two towns, one of them in the Sābāt of Madā'in, which he called Balāshābād, and the other beside Ḥulwān, which he called Balāsh 'Azz.

QUBĀD B. FAYRŪZ.

He was called Guwādh Parīrā In Danish (? or Dabish, or Dish?). In his days, the country for some time was ruled by his brother, Jāmāsp b. Fayrūz, who, however, is not regarded as a king, for he ruled during the disturbance caused by Mazdak, after which Qubād was reinstated. The years of Jāmāsp's reign are included in those of Qubād.

Qubād's vest is of sky-blue and embroidered in white and black; his trousers are red; and his tiara is green. He is sitting on his throne and leaning upon his sword.

He built several cities—one of them between Ḥulwān and Shahrazūr and called it Īrānshād Guwād; another

between Jājān and Īrānshar and called it Shahrābād Guwād; another in Fars and called it Bih-az-Āmid Guwād, *i.e.*, Arajān, which was constituted into a district. Its meaning is "Better than Āmid": another beside Madā'in and called it Hanbū Shāpūr, which is known as Janb Sabūr among the people of Baghdad; another which he called Walāshjird; another beside Mosul, and called it Khābūr Guwād; and another in Sawād, and called it Īzād Qubād Gard. He appointed al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Ḥujr al-Kindī as a king over the Arabs.

KASRĀ ANŪSHIRWĀN B. QUBĀD.

His vest is white and embroidered in variegated colours; his trousers are of sky-blue; and he is sitting on his throne and resting on his sword.

He built several towns—one of them was one of the seven towns comprising al-Madā'in and was called by him Bih-Az-Andīw Khusraw (Better than Antioch), *i.e.*, Rūmīyatu'l-Madā'in; another by name Khusraw Shāpūr and other towns. He built the barrier of Darband, *i.e.*, Bābu'l-Abwāb. The length of this barrier from the sea to the mountain is 20 parasangs. At both the ends of this barrier, he placed a captain with an army under him. He maintained them from the produce of the surrounding estates, and afterwards permanently endowed them on their descendants. Since that time the descendants of these captains are the custodians of the different parts of this wall. On the day he despatched these captains for the defence of the frontier, he invested each one of them with a brocade robe of honour, having a special kind of figures on each, and each captain got a title according to the particular kind of the figures on his robe. Thus their names were: Baghrānshāh, Shirwānshāh, Filānshāh, Īdānshāh, etc. To one of them he

granted the right of having a throne of silver and therefore called him "Sarir Shāh", i.e., the enthroned king. (Sarir is not an Arabic word. It is a Persian word meaning 'a small throne'). Some of the great victories achieved by him were : the conquest of Sarandib, the conquest of Constantinople, and the conquest of the province of Yaman. In the conquest of Yaman he achieved such a signal success as has rarely fallen to the lot of any one except the prophets. He sent only 600 of his warriors to fight against 30,000 people. They killed them all, except those that fled from the sword to take refuge in the sea, where they were drowned. The reason of this was as follows : The Abyssinians had crossed the sea to Yaman, expelled all men and married their women. Their king Sayf b. Dhī Yazan went to seek help from Anūshīrwān. He waited for seven years at his gate until he was able to get an access. He informed Anūshīrwān about the Abyssinians and what they had done to their women. Anūshīrwān's sense of honour was aroused ; he took pity on Sayf b. Dhī Yazan and said, "I shall look into your affair". Then he reflected and said, "My religion does not permit me to expose my army to the dangers of a sea voyage for helping those who do not follow my religion. But in my prisons there are those who are fit to be killed. It is therefore proper that I should fling these felons against this foe. If they are victorious, I shall make that country a fief for them ; but if they perish, I shall not have sinned." So saying he ordered the prisoners to be released. Their number amounted to 809, and most of them were descendants of Sāsān, and Bahman b. Isfandyār. He appointed over them Wahraz, a descendant of Bahā Farīdūn b. Sāsān b. Bahman b. Isfandyār. Thereupon Sayf b. Dhī Yazan said to him, "O King of Kings ! how will these match against those whom I have left behind ?" The Kasrā.

replied: "A little fire is quite enough for much fuel." They started in eight ships, out of which two were wrecked on the way, and the remaining six reached safe. After getting out of the ship Wahraz asked his companions to hold a feast. Then he got hold of the remaining provisions and threw them into the sea. When his companions saw this, they cried: "You have deprived us of our stores and have fed the fish." He silenced them by saying: "If you are alive, you will eat that fish; but if you die you would not be sorry to lose the food along with your souls." So saying, he also burnt their boats, and harangued his comrades in the following words: "Either win a victory, or die like cowards." He made the name of God, the Mighty and Glorious, and that of his sovereign, as his war cry, and defeated the Abyssinians by the grace of God, killing them all within five hours of the same day. The story of this wonderful achievement became famous with the kings of all nations.

It was in the fortieth year of Anūshīrwān, that the birth of the prophet (May the benedictions of God be on him and his descendants!) took place. When he was at his death-bed, he ordered the following inscription to be written on his sepulchre: "Whatever good we have sent forth is with Him, Who will not stint the reward; and whatever evil we have committed is with Him, Who is not helpless in punishing."

HURMUZ B. KASRĀ.

His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers are sky-blue and embroidered; his tiara is green; and he is seen sitting on the throne, with a mace in his right hand and resting the left hand on his sword. God knows best!

KASRĀ PARWĪZ B. HURMUZ.

His vest is pink and embroidered ; his trousers are of sky-blue ; his tiara is red ; and he is holding a lance in his hand.

He had in his palace 3,000 free women and 12,000 female slaves for music, amusement and various other offices. His bodyguard consisted of 6,000 men, and his stable contained 8,500 horses for his own riding, exclusive of those that were meant for the use of his retinue ; 960 elephants and 12,000 mules for carrying his luggage, and 20,000 Bactrian camels. He got angry with Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, had him killed in the desert and his dead body trampled under the feet of elephants. He confiscated his property, wives and children, and ordered them to be sold at the lowest price. He erected a fire-temple in Bārmin, a village in the rural district of Kirmān, and endowed the revenue of the neighbouring villages on it.

SHĪRWAYH B. KASRĀ.

His vest is embroidered red ; his trousers are sky-blue ; his tiara is green ; and he is standing with a conical sword in his right hand.

He suspected a rising from his brothers, and killed 18 of them and several of their children. The names of his brothers are :—Shahryār, Mardānshāh, Kūrānshāh, Fayrūzānshāh, Afrūdshāh, Shādmān, Zarābzūdshāh, Shādzik, Arwandzik, Arwand-dast¹, Qas Dīl, Qas Bih, Khurrah, Mard-Khurrah, Zādān Khurrah, Shirzād, Jawānshīr, and Jahān Bakht.

1 Not mentioned in the Arabic text.

ARDASHĪR B. SHĪRWAYH.

His vest is variegated and sky-blue; his tiara is red; and he is standing with a lance in his right hand, and resting his left hand on his sword.

When it was reported to Shahrizād, the lord of the Western frontier, that they had crowned a boy, he advanced towards the capital, entered the palace of Ardashir and killed him.

BŪRĀN DUKHT, DAUGHTER OF PARWĪZ.

Her vest is embroidered green; her trousers is of sky-blue; her tiara is also of sky-blue; and she is sitting on the throne, with a battle-axe in her hand.

It was she who returned the Cross to the Patriarch. Her mother was Mary (Maryam), daughter of Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor. She came to the throne because Shīrwayh had massacred all the male children of his father. It was on this account that they were compelled to appoint women as their monarchs.

ARZAMĪN DUKHT, DAUGHTER OF PARWĪZ.

Her vest is red and embroidered in various colours; her trousers is variegated and sky-blue; her tiara is green; and she is sitting on the throne, with a battle-axe in her right hand and resting her left hand on the sword.

She was brave and beautiful. She built a fire-temple in Qurtumān, a village in the rural district of Abkhāz. God knows best!

YAZDIJIRD B. SHAHRIYAR.

His vest is green and embroidered; his trousers is sky-blue and embroidered; his tiara is red (the shoes of all the monarchs are red); he is holding a lance in his hand and leaning upon his sword.

The reason of his escape from death at the hands of Shirwayh was that his foster-father contrived to take him out of Madā'in and concealed him in an unknown place. After being crowned he was embroiled in continuous warfare for 16 years, and was ultimately put to death at Merv in 31 A.H., the eighth year of the caliphate of 'Uthmān. When Yazdijird left 'Irāq, he took with him his children, women and retinue, and as many of jewels and gold and silver vessels as he could. Thus his cortège consisted of 1000 cooks, 1000 eunuchs, 1000 lynx-trainers (hunters with the lynx) and 1000 falconers. He was conducted by Khurzād b. Khurhur-muz, brother of Rustam, the Persian general at the battle of Qādsiyyah. He brought him to Isfahān, then to Kirmān and then to Merv, where he entrusted him to Yazdijird Māhwayh, the Marzbān of Merv. After obtaining a writ from Māhwayh for delivering the king to him, Khurzād returned to Adherbayjān. Then the king of the Hayātilah¹ intended to give battle to Yazdijird. Māhwayh conspired with him to put an end to the life of Yazdijird, and hence his descendants are upto this day called "Khūdah Kushān" (the Regicides). Yazdijird was assassinated in a grinding mill.

This is briefly the history of the kings of Persia, scarcely to be found in the biographical books. The rest is available in all other books of theirs. As regards their letters, precepts and similar other things to be found in the books of history, I have mentioned nothing of them in this book.

¹ Hayātilah are the inhabitants of the country called Haytāl, commonly known as Ma-wara'an-Nahr (What is beyond the river Oxus). They were called Ephthalites or White Huns by the Europeans [*Vide* The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp. 433, 438].

SECTION V.

This section deals with all that is to be found in the *Khudā'i-Nāmah* (the Book of Kings), but is neither mentioned by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' nor Ibnu'l-Jahm. I have purposely put this section at the end of this chapter, so that the reader may look upon it like the story of Luqmān b. 'Ād among the Arabs, or like the stories of 'Uj and Balūqiyah among the Israelites.

I have read in a book copied from their book, *Avesta*, that the life of the world as determined by God, the Almighty and Glorious, from the beginning of creation upto the day of Judgment and Trial, is 12,000 years. According to it, the world existed in heavens for 3,000 years without a disease or calamity. Then it descended to the earth, where it lasted for another 3,000 years, without a disease or calamity. Then came Āhirman and there appeared calamities and discord, and evil got mixed up with good after an unadulterated life of 6,000 years. It was from the seventh chiliad that this intermixture of evil and good began. The first creatures that God made without a previous example and without the pairing of male and female were a man and a bull. The man was called Kahūmarth and the bull "Abū Dād". Kahūmarth means living, rational and mortal, and his cognomen is Gilshāh, the King of Earth. To this man is traced the origin of mankind. He lived for 30 years in the world, and when he died a drop of semen issued from his loins and sank into the earth. There it remained for 40 years in the foetus of Earth. Then two sprouts resembling the plant *rheum ribes* came forth, and became transformed into two humam beings of the same size and shape, one male and the other female, and were called Mashah and Mashyānah. Then after a lapse of 50 years, they married

and begot children. Ūshang, the Pīshdīdian, was one of their descendants, who ruled over the whole world for 93 years and 6 months.

The same story has been read by me in other books, in different words and with a greater detail. It is said that the first beings which God, the Mighty and Glorious, created were a man and a bull. These two lived in the region of heavens and in the centre of the empyrean, for 3,000 years, without any calamity or disease. These were the three chiliads of Aries, Taurus and Gemini. Then they descended to the earth below, where they remained free from every kind of disease and calamity for the next three chiliads of Cancer, Leo and Virgo. When this period ended and the chiliad of Libra commenced, there appeared contrariety in the world. Then Kahūmarth ruled over the land, the sea, the bull, and the plants for the first thirty years of the chiliad of Libra. The Ascendant at the commencement of this chiliad was Cancer with Jupiter in it, when the sun was in Aries, the Moon in Taurus, Saturn in Libra, Mars in Capricorn, Venus in Pisces, and Mercury also in Pisces. The planets started from these signs of Zodiac in the month of Farwardīn, on the day of Hurmuz, the day of Nawrūz, and the night became distinguished from the day by the revolution of the sphere.

THE HEGIRA YEARS DURING WHICH
THE NAURŪZ TOOK PLACE, ACCORDING
TO ḤAMZA AL-ISFAHĀNĪ.

Annals, ed. Gottwaldt, pp. 158-187.

Translated by DR. U. M. DAUDPOTA, M.A., PH.D.

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month ¹ when the Naurūz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|---|----|----------------|---|
| 1 | A | 29 | X ² | 34th year of the reign of Parwīz, 18th Ḥazīrān. |
| 2 | B | 11 | XI | |
| 3 | C | 22 | XI | |
| 4 | D | 3 | XII | |
| 5 | E | 14 | XII | There was no Nau- rūz in this year. |
| 6 | F | 25 | XII | |
| 7 | ..... |  |  |  |
| 8 | G | 6 | I | |
| 9 | A | 17 | I | |
| 10 | B | 28 | I | |
| 11 | C | 9 | II | |
| 12 | D | 20 | II | |
| 13 | E | 1 | III | |
| 14 | F | 12 | III | |
| 15 | G | 23 | III | |
| 16 | A | 4 | IV | |
| 17 | B | 15 | IV | |
| 18 | C | 26 | IV | |

1 A=Sunday; B=Monday; C=Tuesday; D=Wednesday;
E=Thursday; F=Friday; G=Saturday.

I=Muḥarram; II=Šafar; III=Rabī' I; IV=Rabī' II;
V=Jumādā I; VI=Jumādā II; VII=Rajab VIII=Ša'ban;
IX=Ramaḍān; X=Shawwāl; XI=Dhu'l-Qa'dah; XII=Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

2 The crescent moon night of Dhu'l-Qa'dah.

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month when the Naurüz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-------|------|--|
| 19 | D | 7 | V | |
| 20 | E | 18 | V | |
| 21 | F | 29 | V | |
| 22 | G | 10 | VI | |
| 23 | A | 21 | VI | |
| 24 | B | 2 | VII | |
| 25 | C | 13 | VII | |
| 26 | D | 24 | VII | |
| 27 | E | 5 | VIII | |
| 28 | F | 16 | VIII | |
| 29 | G | 27 | VIII | |
| 30 | A | 8 | IX | |
| 31 | B | 19 | IX | |
| 32 | C | 1 | X | |
| 33 | D | 11 | X | |
| 34 | E | 22 | X | |
| 35 | F | 3 | XI | |
| 36 | G | 14 | XI | |
| 37 | A | 25 | XI | |
| 38 | B | 6 | XII | |
| 39 | C | 17 | XII | |
| 40 | D | 28 | XII | |
| 41 |  | ..... |  |  |
| 42 | E | 9 | I | |
| 43 | F | 20 | I | |
| 44 | G | 1 | II | |
| 45 | A | 12 | II | |
| 46 | B | 23 | II | |
| 47 | C | 4 | III | |
| 48 | D | 15 | III | |
| 49 | E | 26 | III | |
| 50 | F | 7 | IV | |
| 51 | G | 18 | IV | |
| 52 | A | 29 | IV | |
| 53 | B | 10 | V | |
| 54 | C | 21 | V | |
| 55 | D | 2 | VI | |

There was no Naurüz in this year.

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|----|------|--|
| 56 | E | 13 | VI | |
| 57 | F | 24 | VI | |
| 58 | G | 5 | VII | |
| 59 | A | 16 | VII | |
| 60 | B | 27 | VII | |
| 61 | C | 8 | VIII | |
| 62 | D | 19 | VIII | |
| 63 | E | 1 | IX | |
| 64 | F | 11 | IX | |
| 65 | G | 22 | IX | |
| 66 | A | 3 | X | |
| 67 | B | 14 | X | |
| 68 | C | 25 | X | |
| 69 | D | 6 | XI | |
| 70 | E | 17 | XI | |
| 71 | F | 28 | XI | |
| 72 | G | 9 | XII | |
| 73 | A | 20 | XII | |
| 74 | ..... |  |  |  |
| 75 | B | 1 | I | |
| 76 | C | 12 | I | |
| 77 | D | 23 | I | |
| 78 | E | 4 | II | |
| 79 | F | 15 | II | |
| 80 | G | 26 | II | |
| 81 | A | 7 | III | |
| 82 | B | 18 | III | |
| 83 | C | 29 | III | |
| 84 | D | 10 | IV | |
| 85 | E | 21 | IV | |
| 86 | F | 2 | V | |
| 87 | G | 13 | V | |
| 88 | A | 24 | V | |
| 89 | B | 5 | VI | |
| 90 | C | 16 | VI | |
| 91 | D | 27 | VI | |
| 92 | E | 8 | VII | |

There was no Naurūz in this year.

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-------|------|--|
| 93 | F | 19 | VII | |
| 94 | G | 1 | VIII | |
| 95 | A | 11 | VIII | |
| 96 | B | 22 | VIII | |
| 97 | C | 3 | IX | |
| 98 | D | 14 | IX | |
| 99 | E | 25 | IX | |
| 100 | F | 6 | X | |
| 101 | G | 17 | X | |
| 102 | A | 28 | X | |
| 103 | B | 9 | XI | |
| 104 | C | 20 | XI | |
| 105 | D | 1 | XII | |
| 106 | E | 12 | XII | |
| 107 | F | 23 | XII | |
| 108 |  | ..... |  |  |
| 109 | G | 4 | I | |
| 110 | A | 15 | I | |
| 111 | B | 26 | I | |
| 112 | C | 7 | II | |
| 113 | D | 18 | II | |
| 114 | E | 29 | II | |
| 115 | F | 10 | III | |
| 116 | G | 21 | III | |
| 117 | A | 2 | IV | |
| 118 | B | 13 | IV | |
| 119 | C | 27 | IV | |
| 120 | D | 5 | V | |
| 121 | E | 16 | V | |
| 122 | F | 27 | V | |
| 123 | G | 8 | VI | |
| 124 | A | 19 | VI | |
| 125 | B | 1 | VII | |
| 126 | C | 11 | VII | |
| 127 | D | 22 | VII | |
| 128 | E | 3 | VIII | |
| 129 | F | 14 | VIII | |

There was no Naurūz in this year.

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month when the Naurüz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-------|------|--|
| 130 | G | 25 | VIII | |
| 131 | A | 6 | IX | |
| 132 | B | 17 | IX | |
| 133 | C | 28 | IX | |
| 134 | D | 9 | X | |
| 135 | E | 20 | X | |
| 136 | F | 1 | XI | |
| 137 | G | 12 | XI | |
| 138 | A | 23 | XI | |
| 139 | B | 4 | XII | |
| 140 | C | 15 | XII | |
| 141 | D | 26 | XII | |
| 142 |  | ..... |  |  |
| 143 | E | 7 | I | There was no Nau- rüz in this year. |
| 144 | F | 18 | I | |
| 145 | G | 29 | I | |
| 146 | A | 10 | II | |
| 147 | B | 21 | II | |
| 148 | C | 2 | III | |
| 149 | D | 13 | III | |
| 150 | E | 24 | III | |
| 151 | F | 5 | IV | |
| 152 | G | 16 | IV | |
| 153 | A | 27 | IV | |
| 154 | B | 8 | V | |
| 155 | C | 19 | V | |
| 156 | D | 1 | VI | |
| 157 | E | 11 | VI | |
| 158 | F | 22 | VI | |
| 159 | G | 3 | VII | |
| 160 | A | 14 | VII | |
| 161 | B | 25 | VII | |
| 162 | C | 6 | VIII | |
| 163 | D | 17 | VIII | |
| 164 | E | 28 | VIII | |
| 165 | F | 9 | IX | |
| 166 | G | 20 | IX | |
| 167 | A | 1 | X | |

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-------|------|--|
| 168 | B | 12 | X | |
| 169 | C | 23 | X | |
| 170 | D | 4 | XI | |
| 171 | E | 15 | XI | |
| 172 | F | 26 | XI | |
| 173 | G | 7 | XII | |
| 174 | A | 18 | XII | |
| 175 | B | 29 | XII | |
| 176 |  | ..... |  |  |
| 177 | C | 10 | I | |
| 178 | D | 21 | I | |
| 179 | E | 2 | II | |
| 180 | F | 13 | II | |
| 181 | G | 24 | II | |
| 182 | A | 5 | III | |
| 183 | B | 16 | III | |
| 184 | C | 27 | III | |
| 185 | D | 8 | IV | |
| 186 | E | 19 | IV | |
| 187 | F | 1 | V | |
| 188 | G | 11 | V | |
| 189 | A | 22 | V | |
| 190 | B | 3 | VI | |
| 191 | C | 14 | VI | |
| 192 | D | 25 | VI | |
| 193 | E | 6 | VII | |
| 194 | F | 17 | VII | |
| 195 | G | 28 | VII | |
| 196 | A | 9 | VIII | |
| 197 | B | 20 | VIII | |
| 198 | C | 1 | IX | |
| 199 | D | 12 | IX | |
| 200 | E | 23 | IX | |
| 201 | F | 4 | X | |
| 202 | G | 15 | X | |
| 203 | A | 26 | X | |
| 204 | B | 7 | XI | |
| 205 | C | 18 | XI | |

There was no Naurūz in this year.

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month when the Naurüz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|----|------|-----------------------------------|
| 206 | D | 29 | XI | |
| 207 | E | 11 | XII | |
| 208 | F | 21 | XII | |
| 209 | ..... |  |  | There was no Naurüz in this year. |
| 210 | G | 2 | I | |
| 211 | A | 13 | I | |
| 212 | B | 24 | I | |
| 213 | C | 5 | II | |
| 214 | D | 16 | II | |
| 215 | E | 27 | II | |
| 216 | F | 8 | III | |
| 217 | G | 19 | III | |
| 218 | A | 1 | IV | |
| 219 | B | 11 | IV | |
| 220 | C | 22 | IV | |
| 221 | D | 3 | V | |
| 222 | E | 14 | V | |
| 223 | F | 25 | V | |
| 224 | G | 6 | VI | |
| 225 | A | 17 | VI | |
| 226 | B | 28 | VI | |
| 227 | C | 9 | VII | |
| 228 | D | 20 | VII | |
| 229 | E | 1 | VIII | |
| 230 | F | 12 | VIII | |
| 231 | G | 23 | VIII | |
| 232 | A | 4 | IX | |
| 233 | B | 15 | IX | |
| 234 | C | 26 | IX | |
| 235 | D | 7 | X | |
| 236 | E | 18 | X | |
| 237 | F | 29 | X | |
| 238 | G | 10 | XI | |
| 239 | A | 21 | XI | |
| 240 | B | 2 | XII | |
| 241 | C | 13 | XII | |
| 242 | D | 24 | XII | |
| 243 | ..... |  |  | There was no Naurüz in this year. |

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-------|------|---|
| 244 | E | 5 | I | |
| 245 | F | 16 | I | |
| 246 | G | 27 | I | |
| 247 | A | 8 | II | |
| 248 | B | 19 | II | |
| 249 | C | 29 | II | |
| | | | | The crescent-moon night of Rabi' al- Awwal. |
| 250 | D | 11 | III | |
| 251 | E | 22 | III | |
| 252 | F | 3 | IV | |
| 253 | G | 14 | IV | |
| 254 | A | 25 | IV | |
| 255 | B | 6 | V | |
| 256 | C | 17 | V | |
| 257 | D | 28 | V | |
| 258 | E | 9 | VI | |
| 259 | F | 20 | VI | |
| 260 | G | 1 | VII | |
| 261 | A | 12 | VII | |
| 262 | B | 23 | VII | |
| 263 | C | 4 | VIII | |
| 264 | D | 15 | VIII | |
| 265 | E | 26 | VIII | |
| 266 | F | 7 | IX | |
| 267 | G | 18 | IX | |
| 268 | A | 29 | IX | |
| 269 | B | 10 | X | |
| 270 | C | 21 | X | |
| 271 | D | 2 | XI | |
| 272 | E | 13 | XI | |
| 273 | F | 24 | XI | |
| 274 | G | 5 | XII | |
| 275 | A | 16 | XII | |
| 276 | B | 27 | XII | |
| 277 |  | ..... |  |  |
| | | | | There was no Nau- rūz in this year. |
| 278 | C | 8 | I | |
| 279 | D | 19 | I | |

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month when the Naurūz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-------|------|--|
| 280 | E | 1 | II | |
| 281 | F | 11 | II | |
| 282 | G | 22 | II | |
| 283 | A | 3 | III | |
| 284 | B | 14 | III | |
| 285 | C | 25 | III | |
| 286 | D | 6 | IV | |
| 287 | E | 17 | IV | |
| 288 | F | 28 | IV | |
| 289 | G | 9 | V | |
| 290 | A | 20 | V | |
| 291 | B | 1 | VI | |
| 292 | C | 12 | VI | |
| 293 | D | 23 | VI | |
| 294 | E | 4 | VII | |
| 295 | F | 15 | VII | |
| 296 | G | 26 | VII | |
| 297 | A | 7 | VIII | |
| 298 | B | 18 | VIII | |
| 299 | C | 29 | VIII | |
| 300 | D | 10 | IX | |
| 301 | E | 21 | IX | |
| 302 | F | 2 | X | |
| 303 | G | 13 | X | |
| 304 | A | 24 | X | |
| 305 | B | 5 | XI | |
| 306 | C | 16 | XI | |
| 307 | D | 27 | XI | |
| 308 | E | 8 | XII | |
| 309 | F | 19 | XII | |
| 310 | G | 30 | XII | |
| 311 |  | ..... |  | The first crescent moon night of Mu- harram. There was no Nau- rūz in this year. |
| 312 | A | 11 | I | |
| 313 | B | 22 | I | |
| 314 | C | 3 | II | |
| 315 | D | 14 | II | |

| The year of Hegira. | The day, the date and month when the Naurüz took place. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-------|------|--|
| 316 | E | 25 | II | |
| 317 | F | 6 | III | |
| 318 | G | 17 | III | |
| 319 | A | 28 | III | |
| 320 | B | 9 | IV | |
| 321 | C | 20 | IV | |
| 322 | D | 1 | V | |
| 323 | E | 12 | V | |
| 324 | F | 23 | V | |
| 325 | G | 4 | VI | |
| 326 | A | 15 | VI | |
| 327 | B | 26 | VI | |
| 328 | C | 7 | VII | |
| 329 | D | 18 | VII | |
| 330 | E | 29 | VII | |
| 331 | F | 10 | VIII | |
| 332 | G | 21 | VIII | |
| 333 | A | 2 | IX | |
| 334 | B | 13 | IX | |
| 335 | C | 24 | IX | |
| 336 | D | 5 | X | |
| 337 | E | 16 | X | |
| 338 | F | 27 | X | |
| 339 | G | 8 | XI | |
| 340 | A | 19 | XI | |
| 341 | B | 30 | XI | The crescent-moon night of Dhu'l-Hij- jah. |
| 342 | C | 11 | XII | |
| 343 | D | 22 | XII | |
| 344 |  | ..... |  | There was no Nau- rüz in this year. |
| 345 | E | 3 | I | |
| 346 | F | 14 | I | |
| 347 | G | 25 | I | |
| 348 | A | 6 | II | |
| 349 | B | 17 | II | |
| 350 | C | 28 | II | |

THE
K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
ANNUAL REPORT, 1931

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute beg to submit their report of work done during the year 1931.

Membership

At the end of 1930, there were 216 Life Members. Owing to the death of six of them, the number was reduced to 210 at the end of the year.

Among the 70 Ordinary Members, there were two deaths and four resignations against an addition of three new members, bringing down the number to 67 at the end of the year under report.

Deaths

The Committee places on record with regret the passing away of the following members :—

Life Members

- (1) Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Fifth Bart. (6-2-1931),
- (2) Khan Bahadur Burzaji Dorabji Patel (18-5-1931),
- (3) Framji Cowasji Bennett, Esq. (3-6-1931),
- (4) Lady Meherbai Dorabji Tata (19-6-1931),
- (5) Jehangir Jamshedji Vimadalal, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
Solicitor (21-7-1931),
- (6) Khan Bahadur Naserwanji Rustamji Mehta
(8-12-1931).

Ordinary Members

- (1) Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D.,
(8-2-1931),

- (2) Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D. (5-8-1931).

Trustees of the Institute

- Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.,
C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D. (1914),
Sorabji E. Warden, Esq. (1914),
Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq., Barrister-at-Law (1914),
Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor (1916),
Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B.,
(Advocate) (1916),
R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A. (1916),
Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, 3rd Baronet (1928).

The Executive Committee

In the beginning of the year, the Executive Committee consisted of the following lady and gentlemen who were appointed to work up to 31-7-1931:—

President

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired).

Vice-Presidents

Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana,
B.A., Ph.D.,
Sorabji E. Warden, Esq.

Honorary Treasurer

Kaikhusr H. Cama, Esq.

Members

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.,
C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D.,
Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Solicitor),
Miss Serene M. Cursetji,
Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.,
Rev. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D.,

R. F. Gorvala, Esq., M.A.,
B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.,
P. K. Motivala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.,
Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.

Joint Honorary Secretaries

Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.,
S. K. Hodivala, Esq., B.A.

The New Executive Committee

The Board of Trustees of the Institute, at their meeting held on the 2nd April, 1931, appointed the following, along with themselves as ex-officio members, to serve on the Executive Committee for a period of three years from the 1st August, 1931 up to the 31st July, 1934:—

President

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired).

Vice-Presidents

Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana,
B.A., Ph.D.,
Sorabji E. Warden, Esq.

Honorary Treasurer

Kaikhusru H. Cama, Esq.

Members

Miss Serene M. Cursetji,
Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.,
R. F. Gorvala, Esq., M.A.,
B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.,
P. K. Motivala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.,
Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.,
Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, B.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law,

Dr. Jal Feerose Bulsara, M.A., Ph.D.,
Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D.

Joint Honorary Secretaries

Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.,
S. K. Hodivala, Esq., B.A.

After the sad death of Mr. Hodivala on the 13th June, 1931, Mr. Anklesaria took upon himself the whole secretarial work of the Institute. In place of Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, the Trustees of the Institute appointed Dr. Sir J. J. Modi as Vice-President.

New Ordinary Members

Dr. Jal Feerose Bulsara, M.A., Ph.D.,
Ervad Framroze A. Bode, B.A.,
Dr. Vicaji Dinshaw.

Meetings

There were eight meetings of the Executive Committee during the year.

Record of Service

The following resolutions were passed recording the services of the Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, Dr. F. C. Andreas, Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, Esq., B.A., and Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D.

Revd. Fr. Dr. Zimmermann

"The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their deep sense of grief at the sad demise of their colleague, Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., which took place at Feldkirch (Austria) on the 8th February, 1931, at the age of 56 years. Fr. Zimmermann was invited to join the Executive Committee from the 1st August, 1925, and since then he evinced great interest in the work of the Institute which culminated in a series of

Government Fellowship Lectures he delivered in the year 1929 as the Government scholar of this Institute. The Executive Committee put on record their appreciation of his deep scholarship in the field of Oriental studies in general and Sanskrit in particular. Fr. Zimmermann's genial disposition and unostentatious fervour for the advancement of Oriental lore won for him a deep esteem in the hearts of his colleagues and pupils alike and his passing away will be long felt as a great loss in the sphere of Oriental scholarship.

"A copy of this resolution be sent to his brother Revd. Otto Zimmermann, S.J., and to the Rector of St. Xavier's College, to the staff of which he belonged."

Dr. F. C. Andreas

"The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their grief at the death of Prof. Andreas of the Göttingen University and record their appreciation of the great service done to Iranian scholarship by the deceased extending over a long period of more than 50 years.

"A copy of this resolution be forwarded to the University of Göttingen, to which the deceased belonged."

Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, Esq., B.A.

"The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute record their deep sense of sorrow at the untimely death of their Joint Hony. Secretary, Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, B.A., who died on the 13th June, 1931, at the age of 61 years. Mr. Hodivala was invited to join the Executive Committee on the 17th January, 1922, and since then he took an active interest in the well-being of the Institute. As Government Research Scholar for the year 1923, he had delivered a series of six learned lectures on the Indo-Iranian Religion which were greatly appreciated by Sanskrit

and Avestan scholars alike. He was appointed a Joint Hony. Secretary of the Institute in April, 1930.

"The Executive Committee place on record their appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the deceased to the cause of Sanskrit and Avestan scholarship in general and to this Institute in particular, and express their regret that his premature death has caused the heavy loss of an unostentatious and industrious scholar of great calibre.

"The Executive Committee request the Hony. Secretary to convey their sympathy to the wife and children of the deceased for the irreparable loss sustained by them and pray for God's blessings upon his soul. May it rest in eternal bliss."

*Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana,
B.A., Ph.D.*

"The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute record their deep sense of sorrow for the sad death of one of their Vice-Presidents, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darabji Peshotanji Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D., who died on the 5th August, 1931, at the age of 74 years. Dastur Dr. Darabji was invited to join the Executive Committee from the 1st August 1919, the date of its inception, and was appointed a Vice-President of the Institute from 1922.

"The Executive Committee place on record their appreciation of his great scholarship in the field of Iranian studies in general and the Pahlavi language and literature in particular. Among many of his learned works, including an English translation of Geiger's 'Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times', the most remarkable is his Edition of the Dinkard with notes and translations into English and Gujarati. This work was commenced in 1874 by his revered father the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, who died.

after the issue of the first 8 volumes. It was completed by Dastur Dr. Darabji in 11 more volumes with indefatigable zeal and industry, and will remain a lasting monument of his deep erudition, admired by scholars throughout the world.

"The Executive Committee deeply deplore the loss entailed owing to the death of such a learned scholar and colleague.

"It was also resolved that a copy of the above resolution be sent to the family of Dastur Darabji."

K. R. Cama's Death Anniversary

The twenty-second anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Thursday, the 20th August, 1931, in the hall of the Institute, when the Rev. J. McKenzie, M.A., Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, presided. An oil-coloured portrait of Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., prepared by artist Mr. Mancherji F. Pithawala, was unveiled by Principal McKenzie who spoke at length on Dr. Sir Jivanji's services in his capacity as Honorary Secretary of the Institute and especially as an Oriental scholar of worldwide repute.

Dr. Sir Jivanji then delivered his discourse on "The Doctrine of Karma from a Zoroastrian Point of View."

K. R. Cama's Birthday Centenary

The late Mr. K. R. Cama was born on the 11th November, 1831, and a public meeting was convened on the 11th November, 1931, at the Institute premises, to celebrate his birthday centenary. Members of the various societies and institutions with which Mr. K. R. Cama was connected in his life-time, namely, the Lodge "Rising Star of Western India," the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zartosti Madressa, the Mullan Firuz Madressa, the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana, the Gnyan Pra-

sarak Mandali, the Parsi Girls' School Association, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Anthropological Society of Bombay, the Society for making Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion, the Gatha Society, the Theosophical Society and the Rahnumae Sabha, were specially invited.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bomanji Jamshedji Wadia, M.A., LL.B., was in the chair.

Leading members of the Lodge "Rising Star of Western India," No. 342 S.C., Mr. Abdeali Kajiji, Superintendent of Scottish Royal Arch Freemasonry in India, and the Master of the Lodge "K. R. Cama," No. 1366 S.C., with his office-bearers and other members attended the meeting. They entered in procession in their masonic regalia with implements.

Mr. Rustam K. R. Cama, in giving a brief sketch of the masonic career of Mr. K. R. Cama, said :

"Mr. K. R. Cama was initiated and admitted into Freemasonry on the 24th August, 1854, in the Lodge "Rising Star of Western India," of which he was an active member for exactly 55 years up to the date of his passing away on the 20th August 1909. During his masonic career of five decades and five, he had occupied the highest offices a Freemason in India could aspire to in the Scottish Constitution. In Craft masonry he was appointed Grand Master Depute of the Grand Lodge of all Scottish Freemasonry in India, and Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. In Royal Arch Masonry, he was the Grand Superintendent of Royal Arch Masonry in India under Scotland for full fifteen years and Honorary Depute First Grand Principal of Scotland. In order to commemorate his services to Craft masonry under the Scottish Constitution several young enthusiastic masons founded Lodge "K. R. Cama," No. 1366 S.C.,

which was consecrated by Grand Master Depute Dr. Sir Temulji Bhikhaji Nariman on the 24th August, 1931, being the anniversary date of the late Mr. Cama's initiation into Freemasonry and of which he (Mr. Rustam) was the first Master. By a coincidence the regular November meeting of Lodge "K. R. Cama" fell on the same date, *i.e.*, the 11th November, as the birthday of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, and Providence had thus helped them to unite with the K. R. Cama Institute for the purpose of celebrating the centenary of a true and faithful servant of Freemasonry such as the late Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, who acted well his part as a man and a mason during his whole life of 78 years by working for the social and religious uplift of his community and as a public citizen for the civic welfare of his countrymen.

"Owing to his staunch advocacy of the principles and ideals of Freemasonry as being on a par with the tenets of the Zoroastrian faith, Freemasonry in this city became very popular in the Parsi community."

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., presented the "Life-sketch of the late Mr. K. R. Cama," prepared by him, and delivered a discourse on "The late Mr. K. R. Cama's Literary Work."

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. J. Wadia, in his final address, said that it was due to Mr. Cama's religious zeal and to his method of religious scholarship and learning that the scholars who followed in his wake adopted the western scientific method of investigation and research. He said that he was studying at College at the time when the late Mr. Khurshedji Cama had become well-known as an Oriental savant and scholar. Whilst a College student, he had heard a good deal of the scholarship and benevolence of Mr. Cama. He had the good fortune to speak to Mr. Cama only once in his life and that was at a social gathering of the Parsi students of all the Colleges in Bombay in

1903. Mr. Wadia considered no one more entitled to speak with authority on Mr. Cama's literary work than Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi. Prof. Darmesteter had, in the preface to his monumental work "Le Zend Avesta," called Mr. Cama a "Dastur laïque" of the Parsi community, and he was truly deserving of such a title. Mr. Cama's munificence in helping the cause of education and learning was widely known, and his efforts for the reform of the Parsi calendar, as he considered it, were too well-known to need mention. He had translated many German works on Zoroastrianism, which the K. R. Cama Institute had undertaken to publish. There were many social and religious usages of the Parsi community which required to be reformed, and Mr. Cama had worked strenuously all his life for such reforms.

Translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad

In order to commemorate the centenary of Mr. Cama's birth, an anonymous Parsi donated a sum of Rs. 1,000/- to be offered as an honorarium to be paid for the preparation of an English translation of the Avesta Vendidad. Whilst thanking the donor for his gift, the Executive Committee suggested that the amount was not sufficient enough and that a transliteration and English translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad was a great desideratum. The donor having approved of this suggestion, the Executive Committee entrusted, by a resolution made at their meeting of 2-7-1929, the work of transliterating and translating the Pahlavi Vendidad to Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., for an honorarium of Rs. 2,000/-.

On the occasion of the Centenary Meeting, Mr. B. T. Anklesaria submitted his transliteration and English translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad. He gave a short account of the work already done in connection with the Vendidad from time to time and stated that a Pahlavi transla-

tion of all the Avestan texts including that of the Vendidad was prepared by the great Magúpatân Magúpat Âtarpât Mâraspend and his disciples, early in the fourth century after Christ, during the reign of the Sasanian monarch Shâpuhr II. The Pahlavi version was enriched with glosses and commentaries by the Magúpats and Dastûrs who followed Âtarpât during the regime of the later Sasanians.

The attention of the civilized world of letters was drawn to the religious scriptures of the Parsis by Anquetil du Perron who first translated the Avestan texts of the Yasna, Visperad, Vendidad and some of the Yasts in 1771 A.C., after having studied the Avesta and the Pahlavi under Dastur Darab Kumana of Surat. Johann Friedrich Kleuker published his translation of the Avesta texts into German in 1783, and Spiegel did so in 1851-1863. Ignace Pietraszewski gave to the world a novel translation of the Avestan texts in the Polish and French languages in 1862. In India, Dastur Framji Aspandiyarji Rabadi of Surat had, at the express request of the late Mr. Framji Cowasji Banaji, prepared a Gujarati translation of the Avestan Vendidad, Yasna and Visperad on the basis of the Pahlavi version, in 1824 A.C. Dastur Rabadi's translation was lithographed and published by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1842-43 A.C.

In January, 1866, the late Mr. K. R. Cama offered, in the name of "the Society for the Promotion of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion," a prize of Rs. 600/- for preparing a correct copy of the Avestan text of the Vendidad with the Pahlavi version written underneath the Avestan text, notes on variants in the Avestan and Pahlavi texts, and on the differences of view as regards translation, particularly noting the differences from the Pahlavi version and the translations of Dr. Spiegel and Dastur Rabadi, a vocabulary of the Avestan words occurring in

the Vendidad in accordance with comparative philology, and a refutation of all the misleading criticisms passed against the Vendidad. The amount of the prize was latterly raised to Rs. 800/-. When no essay was received at the stated time, the conditions of the competition were relaxed a little and the prize was advertized again. In January, 1869 A.C., Ervad Kavasji Edulji Kanga submitted his translation of only the Avestan text of the Vendidad with notes and comments, vocabulary and refutation of the criticisms against it. The work was published in 1874.

Ever since then, new translations of the Avestan text of the Vendidad have been made containing references to the Pahlavi version and the glosses and commentaries contained in the version. But a complete translation of the Pahlavi version has not been attempted up to now, and the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Institute thought fit to take advantage of the munificent offer, made by an anonymous Parsi donor, to bring to completion the work initiated by Mr. K. R. Cama in 1866 A.C., and to present it as a fitting tribute to the memory of the indefatigable Orientalist on his birthday centenary. This English translation of the Pahlavi version, as soon as published, will give to the world an idea of the knowledge of the Avestan scriptural lore and the way in which the Avestan texts of Zoroastrianism were interpreted sixteen centuries ago by the learned exponents of the Zoroastrian religion such as Âtarpât Mâraspend and his disciples.

Presentation of a Carpet to the Institute

In order to commemorate the event of the auspicious day, and as a tribute of respect to the Institute which honoured the memory of Mr. Cama, Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi presented an Afghan carpet to the Institute. He said that it was presented to him by His Royal Highness the Prime Minister of Kabul, brother of His Majesty the Shah of Afghanistan, during his recent visit to Kabul.

Mr. K. R. Cama's Collected Works

At the suggestion of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, the publication of the collected works of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was undertaken. The Life-sketch of Mr. Cama presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji will form the first volume and Mr. Cama's English writings and translations from German works will occupy the second volume.

The English Translation of Prof. Dr. Karl F. Geldner's "Die Zoroastrische religion (Das Avesta)"

The work was entrusted to Dr. J. C. Tavadia, B.A., Ph.D., of Hamburg in 1927. He has completed it and submitted the MS. of his translation, which will be published early.

Translation of Hamzah-i Ispahani

In 1930, Prof. Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D., was entrusted with the work of translating into English the Arabic text of *Hamzah-i Ispahani's* First Book. He has finished his work and handed over the MS. for publication.

Copies of two rare MSS.

Professor M. A. Shushtary of Mysore University applied for permission to take copies of two rare MSS. of the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana: "Shareh-i Diwân-i Anvari" (R. VII, 28) and "Shareh-i Abyât-i divân-i Khaqâni" (R. VII, 41). After securing the permission of the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana authorities, Professor Shushtary was allowed to get the copies prepared for him.

Lecture

Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D., delivered a lecture on "The Parthian Empire under Mithradates I," on Monday, the 6th July, 1931. Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., was in the chair.

Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize Essays

The "Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize" of Rs. 500/- was announced in the public newspapers and journals for an English translation of the Âbân, Khorsed, Mâh, Tîr, Drvâsp, Mihir, Rashnu, Fravardîn, Râm and Dîn Yasts, to be submitted on or before the 31st December, 1930. Two competitors sent in their essays under the nom-de-plumes respectively of "Ahunavaiti" and "Vispa sravâo Zarathustri Yazamaidê." Dr. J. C. Tavadia, B.A., Ph.D., of Hamburg, was appointed examiner. In his report dated 10th June, 1931, Dr. Tavadia expressed his opinion that he could not consider either of the attempts worth recognition.

The Executive Committee have since reannounced the same subject. The essays are to be submitted on or before the 31st May, 1932.

Another subject announced for the "Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize" of Rs. 225/- was the English translation of the Ashi, Âstâd, Zamyât, Hâdôkht and Vistâsp Yasts and the Âfrîn-i Paighâmbar Zaratust, to be submitted on or before the 31st December, 1931.

One essay has been received.

The Government Research Scholarship

On the recommendation of Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi, Mr. W. Ivanow was entrusted with the work of preparing a thesis on "*The Gabri or Dari Dialect*," for an honorarium of Rs. 1,500/-.

London Agents

Messrs. Luzac & Co. were appointed the London Agents of the publications of the Institute.

XVIIIth International Congress of Orientalists

The Committee elected Mr. R. P. Masani, M.A., as delegate to represent the Institute at the XVIIIth Interna-

tional Congress of Orientalists held at Leiden on the 7th to 12th September, 1931.

Bombay University Scheme of Co-operation

The Bombay University Library Committee proposed a scheme of co-operation between themselves, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the J. N. Petit Institute and our Institute, in order to help, by a mutual arrangement, in the purchase of some costly books which no single Institution can afford to purchase. The object was that at least one copy of rare costly books may be made available in Bombay for students to refer to in these Libraries. Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala and Mr. B. T. Anklesaria were appointed representatives of the Institute on the Committee empanelled for the purpose.

Insurance

The manuscripts, books, furniture and deadstock of the Cama Oriental Institute, and of the Manekji Limji Hateria Library, have been insured for Rs. 50,000/- with the Commercial Union Assurance Co. Ltd.

The manuscripts, books and furniture of the Mullan Firuz Kitābkhāna are separately insured for Rs. 20,000/- by the Committee of the Kitābkhāna.

Repair of Manuscripts and Books

49 MSS. and 5 books of the Cama Institute Library were repaired and bound at the cost of Rs. 157-8-0.

Furniture

Three new cupboards were purchased this year at a cost of Rs. 280/-.

Shortage of Books

The Executive Committee requested Ervad Bahmanji N. Dhabhar, M.A., and Prof. Nadirsha D. Mino-

cherhomji, B.A., to report on the shortage of books and journals of the Institute Library. They submitted their report after a careful examination of the books of the Library. The Executive Committee placed on record their appreciation of the disinterested service rendered by Ervad B. N. Dhabhar and Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji. Several of the books and journals have since been found and steps have been taken to prevent further shortage.

Oil-Painting of Dastur Ardashirji Mulla Firuz

Mr. Ardeshar Burjorji Mulla Firuz presented to the Mullan Firuz Madressa an oil-painting of his grandfather Dastur Ardashirji Rustamji Mullan Firuz, who was the first Principal of the Madressa from its foundation on the 27th August, 1854, up to the day of his death on the 4th January, 1864. As our Institute has accommodated the Madressa in its premises, the oil-painting has been hung in the Institute Hall, by the side of that of Dastur Mullan Firuz, whose name the Madressa and the Kitābkhāna bear.

*Sasanian Gems and Cameos belonging to the
Indian Museum, Calcutta*

Mr. Kaikhusru J. Dubash, Solicitor, Joint Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Federal Council, sent to the Institute a box containing plaster casts of Sasanian Gems and Cameos belonging to the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The Executive Committee have invited members of the Institute and decipherers of Pahlavi to make an attempt at decipherment of the inscriptions on those gems and cameos and have resolved to print a photograph album of these gems after obtaining the permission of the Director General of Archæology in India.

Mon. Eugène Burnouf's Letters

Mr. Cursetjee Manockjee Cursetjee presented to the Institute an album containing nineteen original letters.

from Mon. Eugène Burnouf, two from Mon. Jules Mohl and one from Prof. Charles Lassen of Bonn, addressed to his father the late Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee between the years 1834 and 1846, as well as copies of eleven letters addressed by Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee to Mon. Burnouf.

The Executive Committee highly appreciate Mr. C. M. Cursetjee's gift, and have thought of publishing, if convenient, some of these letters which have not seen the light of day. Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi has been requested to look into the matter.

*Presentation of Encyclopædia Britannica to the
Udwada Library*

As the Cama Institute Library contained two sets (the 8th and the 11th Editions) of the Encyclopædia Britannica, the Executive Committee thought fit to present the set of the 8th Edition, belonging to the late Mr. K. R. Cama's own collection, to the Udwada Library.

Publications

Two numbers of the Journal, Nos. 18 and 19, were published during the year.

Donations

The Executive Committee have accepted, with thanks, the following donations received during the year:—

| | |
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| From the "Lodge K. R. Cama," on the occasion of the K. R. Cama Birth Centenary ... | Rs. 101/- |
| From a Zoroastrian, as a thanksgiving to God for the recovery of dear ones ... | 15/- |
| From a Zoroastrian, as humble thanksgiving to God ... | 11/- |
| From a Zoroastrian, as humble thanksgiving ... | 11/- |
| From a Zoroastrian, in pious memory of his friend Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala ... | 10/- |

| | |
|---|--------------|
| From a Zoroastrian, in memory of his father and sister Roz 26, Mah 2, 1301 A.Y. ... | Rs. 10/- |
| From a Zoroastrian, in memory of Seth Jijibhoy Dadabhoy on his anniversary (23-4-1931) ... | 5/- |
| From a Zoroastrian, in memory of Aimaë on her anniversary (25-4-1931) ... | 5/- |
| From a friend, in sacred memory of Mr. K. R. Cama on the 22nd anniversary of his death. ... | 5/- |
| From a Zoroastrian, in memory of his mother on the anniversary of her death (Roz Fra- vardin, Mah Khârdâd, 1301 A.Y.) ... | 5/- |
| Total Rs. | <u>178/-</u> |

General Fund

The General Fund of the Institute showed a balance of Rs. 2,02,041-5-11 on the 31st December, 1930. At the end of 1931 the balance was Rs. 2,01,383-3-2.

The Executive Committee tender their sincere thanks to Messrs. Navroz A. Davar and Co., Incorporated Accountants, for having worked as Honorary Auditors of the Institute.

BOOKS PURCHASED

Manuscripts

A Multani Manuscript.

Farokhshi in Avestan characters.

The Farvardin Yasht in Avestan characters.

The Behram Yasht in Avestan characters.

The Aban Yasht in Avestan characters.

The Farvardin Yasht in Avestan characters.

The Afrin-i Gahanbar in Avestan characters.

English

"Dr. Modi Memorial Volume," by the Dr. Modi Memorial Volume Editorial Board, 1930.

- "Persian Painting," by Basil Gray, 1930.
- "The Persians," by Sir Denison Ross, 1931.
- "The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads (Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 31, 32)," by Arthur Berriedale Keith, 1925.
- "Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler," 1894.
- "An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto," by Georg Morgenstierne, 1927.
- "A Bibliography of Persia," by Lt.-Col. Sir Arnold T. Wilson, 1930.
- "Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami: An Account of three Eranian Dialects," by Sir George A. Grierson, 1920.
- "Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, and Pushtu Mss. in the Bodleian Library, Part II," by Dr. H. Ethe, 1930.
- "The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate," by G. Le Strange, 1930.
- "Library Handbook and Index," by R. G. Kanade, B.A., 1931.
- "The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects," by A. S. Tritton, 1930.
- "Islamic Civilization, Vols. I, II," by S. Khuda Bukhsh, 1929, 1930.
- "Persian Pictures," by Gertrude Bell, 1928.
- "A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Parts I, II, III," by M. A. Ghani, 1929, 1930.
- "Persian Literature (The World's Manuals)," by Reuben Levy, 1928.
- "Poems from the Divan of Hafiz," by Gertrude L. Bell, 1928.

"Pahlavi Codices, K 20 and K 20 b (Codice Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis), Vol. I (Introduction by Arthur Christensen)," by the University Library of Copenhagen, 1931.

"An Introduction to Persian Art since the seventh Century A.D.," by Arthur U. Pope, 1930.

German

"Die Grabschrift des Darius zu Nakschi Rustam," by Dr. Ferdinand Hitzig, 1847.

"Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie," by Paul Horn, 1893.

"Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens," by Le Coq, 1925.

"Beitrage zur Metrik des Awestas und des Rgvedas," by Johannes Hertel, 1927.

"Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, Part I (Texte und Index der Pehlevi-wörter," and Part II (Glossary), by H. S. Nyberg, 1928.

"Iranische und Armenische (Geschichte der Indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, Zweiter Teil, Vierter Band, Zweite Hälfte)," by Hans Reichelt and Heinrich Zeller, 1927.

"Ein Iranisches Sprachdenkmal und der Nordlichen Mongolei (Sitzungsberichte der Koniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften XXVII)," by F. W. K. Muller,

"I Eine Soghdische inschrift in Ladakh,"

"II Reste einer Soghdischen Übersetzung des Padma-cintamani—dharni Sutra XXXII," by F. W. K. Muller,

"Soghdische Texte I," by F. W. K. Muller,

"Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichaischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnamag)," by F. W. K. Muller,

Persian

"Divan Abi Nivas," by Fariduttul Abi Nivas.

"Tarikh-ul Madineh, Vols. I, II." 1326 Hijri.

"Lughat-i-Furs (Asadi's Neupersisches Wörterbuch)," by Paul Horn, 1897.

"Al Fihrist of Ibn-un Nadim," by Ibn-un Nadim, 1348 Hijri.

Gujerati

"પારસી ગીતા," કવિ મી. જી. વડોદરા બરજેસ સર્વેશ્વર, ૧૯૩૦.

BOOKS PRESENTED

English

"Imperial Library Catalogue, Part II, Subject-Index to the Author Catalogue, First Supplement,"¹ 1929.

"Racial Inter-marriages: Their Scientific Aspect," by J. J. Vimadala and others,² 1922.

"The Idea of Man and Knowledge in the Conception of Persian Mystics," by L. Bogdanov,³ 1930.

"Stray Notes on Kabuli Persian," by L. Bogdanov,³ 1930.

"A Middle Persian Grammar," by C. Salemann (translated from German by L. Bogdanov),⁴ 1930.

"Social Customs and Race Degeneration," being a lecture delivered by Dr. Jamshed D. Munsiff,⁵ 1930.

"Fifty Years of Theosophy in Bombay," by K. J. B. Wadia,³ 1931.

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1. Presented by the Government of India, Calcutta.
 2. Presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.
 3. Presented by the Author.
 4. Presented by the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay.
 5. Presented by R. B. Paymaster, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

"Anthropological Papers, Part IV," by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,⁴ 1929.

"Address delivered by the Revd. John McKenzie, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, before the Annual Convocation of the University on the 18th August 1931,"² 1931.

"Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXI," by the University of Calcutta,⁶ 1931.

"The Mobedan Mobed Omid bin Ashavast, referred to by Hamza Isphahani. Who was he?" (Reprint from Wilhelm Geiger's Memorial Volume) by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi,² 1931.

"A Persian Miniature of the XVI Century," by Riza Abbasi from the Russian of F. Rosenberg (translated by L. Bogdanov),³ 1931.

"The Excellence of Zoroastrianism," by Framroze Pestonji Wadia,⁷ 1931.

"Sraosha in the Gathas and in the Later Avesta," by N. D. Khandalavala,³ 1929.

"A Guide to the Gallery of Miscellaneous Antiquities in Prince of Wales Museum," by R. G. Gyani,⁸ 1931.

French

"La Pensée de Rabindranath Tagore," by Sushil Chandra Mitter,⁹ 1930.

"Les Fleurs de Rhétorique dans l'Inde," by H. R. Divekar,⁹ 1930.

6. Presented by the University of Calcutta.

7. Presented by the Ratheshtar Mandal.

8. Presented by the Curator, Archaeological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

9. Presented by the Publisher, Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris.

Persian

"Khordeh Avesta," by Aga Mirza Hasan Kāshāni,⁴ 1232 A.Y.

"Tardid Shāi'aāt Bātalat Shah Makhlu'a," Afghanistan,² 1310 Hijri.

"Complete Episode of Shah Yazdagard Sheheriar from Shah Nameh together with the 'Satire' of Hakim Firdusi Tusi on Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi," by Behram Pherozechah Bharucha,⁴ 1930.

German

"Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, Tomi I, Pars VII, Codices Zendicos Complectens," by Christian Bartholomae,³ 1915.

"Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Band I, Heft I, II and III and Band II, Heft 1-4," by Ernst Herzfeld,³ 1929, 1930.

"Archaeologische reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet, Friedrich Sarre, Vols. II and IV," by Ernst Herzfeld,³ 1920.

Sanskrit

"A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Library, Tanjore, Vols. VII, VIII and IX," by P. P. S. Sastri,¹⁰ 1930.

"The Apastamba Sulbasutra with the Commentaries of Kapardiswamin Karavinda and Sundararaja," by D. Shrinivasachar and Vidwan S. Narasinhachar,¹¹ 1931.

"Hemadri urfe Hemadpant yanche Charitra," by K. A. Padhye,³ 1931.

"The Vāsisthadharmasāstram: Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. 23," by Revd. Alois A. Führer,¹² 1930.

10. Presented by the Government of Madras.

11. Presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.

12. Presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona.

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Pahlavi

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Old Persian

“Cuneiform Inscriptions transcribed into Sanskrit and Avesta,” by S. K. Hodivala, B.A.,¹³ 1931.

Gujerati

“જરથોસ્તી સને.” કર્તા બેહરામજી ભીખાજી ડાંગા. ૧૮૬૫⁴

“મુંબાઈના પારસી ધર્મ ખાતાંઓ” કર્તા એરવદ જીવનજી જમશેદજી મોદી, બી. એ.,⁴ ૧૨૮૦ ચજ્જગદી.

“ખા. બા. બમનજી બેરામજી પટેલની ચાદગારીના ફંડને લગતી હીલ-ચાલની હકીકત.”⁴

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“સીસ્તાન, નક્ષ અને ખાસ ચિત્રો સહિત,” લખનાર માણેક ફરદુનજી મુલ્લા,⁴ ૧૯૩૦.

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“કલા રોક વિરહ,” પ્રગટ કરનાર રેવાશંકર દયાલજી જોશી,² ૧૮૯૨.

“પાવ મહેલને લગતી કિયાઓ, બાજધરણું અને નીરંગસ્તાન,” લખનાર મોબેદ ખુરશેદજી બેરામ કામદીન દસ્તુરના,³ ૧૯૩૧.

“પારસી પુરાતન પવિત્ર પુસ્તક, જંદ અવસ્તા” લખનાર નાયબે દસ્તુર રસ્તમજી એદલજી દસ્તુર પેશોતન સંભણા, બી. એ.,^{14 + 15}, ૧૯૩૧.

13. Presented by Ardeshir Shapurji Hodivala, Esq., B.A., L.L.B.

14. Presented by Sir Ratan Tata Charities Fund.

15. Presented by Jehangir D. D. Daruvala.

JOURNALS PRESENTED

English

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXI, Nos. 2-4 (October 1930, January, April 1931), Vol. XXII, Nos. 1, 2 (July, October 1931).

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 49, No. 3 (September 1930); Vol. 50, No. 4 (December 1930); Vol. 51, Nos. 1-3 (March, June, September 1931).

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Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, Nos. 1, 2; Vol. VI, Nos. 1, 2; Vol. VII, Nos. 1, 2 (1931).

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¹ Presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi. The rest are presented by the Publishers.

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Report of the Working of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, from 1-4-1926 to 31-3-1930.

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¹ Presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi. The rest are presented by the Publishers.

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Gujerati

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THE K. R. CAMA

Balance Sheet as on

| LIABILITIES | | | | Rs. a. p. | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----------|----|---|
| General Fund | ... | ... | ... | 2,01,383 | 3 | 2 |
| Fellowship Fund | ... | ... | ... | 39,506 | 0 | 5 |
| Dr. E. J. Khory Fund | ... | ... | ... | 14,529 | 8 | 0 |
| Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund | ... | ... | ... | 6,241 | 5 | 8 |
| Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund | ... | ... | ... | 4,954 | 9 | 9 |
| Surat Parsi History Fund | ... | ... | ... | 3,285 | 15 | 6 |
| K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund | ... | ... | ... | 1,722 | 13 | 0 |
| T. R. N. Cama Donation Fund | ... | ... | ... | 6,736 | 5 | 0 |
| Rivayet Publication Fund | ... | ... | ... | 4,464 | 2 | 6 |
| Pahlavi Vendidad Translation Fund | ... | ... | ... | 1,155 | 4 | 4 |
| Maneckji Limji Hateria Library Fund | ... | ... | ... | 4,144 | 12 | 0 |
| Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi Appreciation Fund | ... | ... | ... | 981 | 14 | 0 |
| Total | | | | 2,79,205 | 13 | 4 |

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

31st December 1931

| ASSETS | | | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|-----|-----|-----|----------|----|----|
| Cash with Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 10,897-0-4):— | | | | | | |
| Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund Account | ... | ... | ... | 297 | 9 | 9 |
| Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account | ... | ... | ... | 711 | 3 | 8 |
| All other Accounts | ... | ... | ... | 9,888 | 2 | 11 |
| Securities—(With Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt, Rs. 2,68,308-13-0):— | | | | | | |
| 3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 78,790 | ... | ... | ... | 63,306 | 15 | 0 |
| 5 per cent Government Promissory Notes 1945-55 of Rs. 500 | ... | ... | ... | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| 6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of Rs. 51,500 | | | | 51,535 | 4 | 0 |
| 6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Rs. 32,200 | ... | | | 32,200 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of Rs. 500 | | | | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Rs. 1,17,800 | ... | ... | ... | 1,18,088 | 12 | 0 |
| Furniture and Fixtures | ... | ... | ... | 2,177 | 14 | 0 |
| Total | | | | 2,79,205 | 13 | 4 |

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 12th April 1932.

THE K. R. CAMA

Account

Account of the General Fund for the

| CREDIT | | | | Rs. a. p. | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----------|------|
| BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1931 (Rs. 2,02,041-5-11):— | | | | | |
| Cash with Bank ... | ... | ... | ... | 11,575 | 5 1 |
| Securities ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,88,457 | 8 10 |
| Furniture and Fixtures ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,008 | 8 0 |
| ADMINISTRATION CHARGES:— (Rs. 804-7-0), recovered from | | | | | |
| The Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund ... | ... | ... | ... | 18 10 | 0 |
| The Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 9 | 0 |
| The K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund... | ... | ... | ... | 6 4 | 0 |
| The Fellowship Fund ... | ... | ... | ... | 111 | 0 0 |
| The Mulla Feroze Kitabkhana ... | ... | ... | ... | 669 | 0 0 |
| OTHER CREDITS (Rs. 39,073-9-9):— | | | | | |
| Annual Membership Subscription ... | ... | ... | ... | 640 | 0 0 |
| Donations ... | ... | ... | ... | 178 | 0 0 |
| Interest on Investments ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,175 | 0 6 |
| Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory's Account ... | ... | ... | ... | 861 | 12 0 |
| Sundry receipts (including sale-proceeds of books, journals, etc.) ... | ... | ... | ... | 200 | 0 6 |
| 6½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 24,000 received in exchange for 6 per cent Bonds of 1931 ... | ... | ... | ... | 24,000 | 0 0 |
| 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 2,800 purchased, at cost price ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,818 | 12 0 |
| 6 per cent Bonds of 1933-36 of face value of Rs. 2,200 purchased ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,200 | 0 0 |
| Total Rs. | | | | 2,41,919 | 5 11 |

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. 1

year ended 31st December 1931

| DEBIT | | | | Rs. a. p. | |
|--|-----|----------|-----|-----------|------|
| CASH DEBITS (Rs. 16,271-7-11):— | | | | | |
| Salaries and Wages | ... | ... | ... | 4,160 | 0 0 |
| Rent | ... | ... | ... | 3,399 | 0 0 |
| Books and Periodicals | ... | ... | ... | 692 | 15 5 |
| Stationery and Printing | ... | ... | ... | 252 | 5 0 |
| Postage and Stamps | ... | ... | ... | 131 | 6 0 |
| Insurance | ... | ... | ... | 97 | 10 0 |
| Clothing to Peons | ... | ... | ... | 120 | 0 0 |
| Other General Charges | ... | ... | ... | 598 | 15 6 |
| Publication Charges | ... | ... | ... | 1,899 | 8 0 |
| Cost price of 6 per cent Bonds of 1933-36 of face value of Rs. 2,200 | ... | ... | ... | 2,200 | 0 0 |
| Cost price of 6½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 2,800 | ... | ... | ... | 2,818 | 12 0 |
| OTHER DEBITS (Rs. 24,264-10-10):— | | | | | |
| 6 per cent Bonds of 1931 of face value of Rs. 24,000 paid off valued at cost price | ... | ... | ... | 24,150 | 0 10 |
| Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures | ... | ... | ... | 114 | 10 0 |
| BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1931 (Rs. 2,01,383-3-2):— | | | | | |
| 3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of the face value of | Rs. | 60,300 | | 47,518 | 12 0 |
| 5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of 1945-55 of the face value of | " | 500 | | 500 | 0 0 |
| 6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bond of the face value of | " | 26,800 | | 26,818 | 12 0 |
| 6 per cent 1933-36 Bond of the face value of | " | 2,200 | | 2,200 | 0 0 |
| 4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of the face value of | " | 500 | | 500 | 0 0 |
| 4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of the face value of | " | 1,15,500 | | 1,15,788 | 12 0 |
| Cash with Bank | ... | ... | ... | 5,879 | 1 2 |
| Furniture and Fixtures | ... | ... | ... | 2,177 | 14 0 |
| Total Rs. | | | | 2,41,919 | 5 11 |

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
 Incorporated Accountants (London),
 Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 12th April 1932.

Account
FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

| | | | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|------------------------|--------|-----|-----|--------|----|----|
| Fellowship Lectures | ... | ... | | 1,200 | 0 | 0 |
| Publication Charges | ... | ... | | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Administration Charges | ... | ... | | 111 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance on 31-12-31:— | | | | | | |
| 6 p. c. 1933-36 Bonds | 30,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Cash | ... | ... | 506 | 0 | 5 | |
| | | | | 30,506 | 0 | 5 |
| | | | | 32,117 | 0 | 5 |

Account
DR. E. J. KHORY

Dr.

| | | | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--|--------|-----|-----|--------|----|----|
| Interest amount transferred to General Fund | ... | ... | | 861 | 12 | 0 |
| 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 of face value Rs. 14,400 paid off | ... | ... | | 14,400 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance on 31-12-31 :— | | | | | | |
| 6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds | 14,400 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Cash | ... | ... | 129 | 8 | 0 | |
| | | | | 14,529 | 8 | 0 |
| | | | | 29,791 | 4 | 0 |

Account
SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

| | | | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--|-------|-----|-----|--------|----|----|
| Stamp and Conversion Fee | ... | ... | | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Cost price of 6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of face value Rs. 700 at Rs. 100-6-0 | ... | ... | | 702 | 10 | 0 |
| 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 of face value of Rs. 3,700 paid off | ... | ... | | 3,700 | 0 | 0 |
| Administration charges | ... | ... | | 18 | 10 | 0 |
| Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:— | | | | | | |
| 4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds | 1,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| 3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F. V. 200) | ... | ... | 127 | 8 | 0 | |
| 6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 4,400 | 4,400 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Cash | ... | ... | 711 | 3 | 8 | |
| | | | | 6,241 | 5 | 8 |
| | | | | 10,664 | 10 | 8 |

No. 2 FUND

Cr.

| | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|----|----|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:— | | | | |
| 6 p.c. 1933-36 Bonds ... | 30,000 | 0 | 0 | |
| Cash ... | 531 | 12 | 5 | |
| | | 30,531 | 12 | 5 |
| Interest ... | | 1,585 | 4 | 0 |
| | | 32,117 | 0 | 5 |

No. 3 FUND

Cr.

| | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|--------|--------|----|----|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:— | | | | |
| 6 per cent Bonds 1931 ... | 14,400 | 0 | 0 | |
| Cash ... | 129 | 8 | 0 | |
| | | 14,529 | 8 | 0 |
| Interest ... | | 861 | 12 | 0 |
| 6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value Rs. 14,400 received in exchange for 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 ... | | 14,400 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 29,791 | 4 | 0 |

No. 4 FUND

Cr.

| | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--|-------|--------|----|----|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:— | | | | |
| 4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds... | 1,000 | 0 | 0 | |
| 6 per cent 1931 Govt. Bonds | 3,700 | 0 | 0 | |
| 3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 200) ... | 127 | 8 | 0 | |
| Cash ... | 1,167 | 2 | 8 | |
| | | 5,994 | 10 | 8 |
| Interest ... | | 267 | 6 | 0 |
| 6½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value Rs. 700 purchased, at cost price ... | | 702 | 10 | 0 |
| 6½ per cent Treasury Bonds of 1935 received in exchange for 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931, face value Rs. 3,700 ... | | 3,700 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 10,664 | 10 | 8 |

Account

BAI AIMAI K. R. CAMA

Dr.

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--|-------|----|----|
| Stamp on Balance Certificate and Conversion Fee ... | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Cost price of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of face-value Rs. 1,100 at Rs. 100-6-0 ... | 1,104 | 2 | 0 |
| Administration charges ... | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| 6 p. c. Bonds of 1931 of face value of Rs. 700 paid off ... | 700 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance on 31-12-31:— | | | |
| 4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds ... 1,300 0 0 | | | |
| $6\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of the face value of Rs. 1,300 ... 1,804 2 0 | | | |
| $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. 900) ... 652 14 0 | | | |
| Cash ... 297 9 9 | | | |
| | 4,054 | 9 | 9 |
| | 5,867 | 12 | 9 |

Account

SURAT PARSI HISTORY

Dr.

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--|-------|----|----|
| Cost price of $6\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of face-value Rs. 900 at Rs. 100-6-0 ... | 903 | 6 | 0 |
| Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:— | | | |
| $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. 3,700) ... 2,379 9 0 | | | |
| $6\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F. V. Rs. 900) ... 903 6 0 | | | |
| Cash ... 3 0 6 | | | |
| | 3,285 | 15 | 6 |
| | 4,189 | 5 | 6 |

Account

K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY

Dr.

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--|-------|----|----|
| Anniversary Celebration Expenses ... | 70 | 15 | 0 |
| Administration Charges ... | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 of face value of Rs. 1,500 paid off ... | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance on 31-12-31:— | | | |
| $6\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds ... 1,500 0 0 | | | |
| Cash ... 222 13 0 | | | |
| | 1,722 | 13 | 0 |
| | 3,300 | 0 | 0 |

No. 5 FUND

Cr.

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|-------|----|----|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:— | | | |
| 4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds... | 1,300 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 per cent Govt. Bonds of 1931 ... | 700 | 0 | 0 |
| 3½ per cent G.P. Notes (Face Value Rs. 900) ... | 652 | 14 | 0 |
| Cash ... | 1,288 | 4 | 9 |
| | 3,941 | 2 | 9 |
| 6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 1,100 purchased at cost price ... | 1,104 | 2 | 0 |
| Interest ... | 122 | 8 | 0 |
| 6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 700 received in exchange for 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 ... | 700 | 0 | 0 |
| | 5,867 | 12 | 9 |

No. 6 FUND

Cr.

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|-------|----|----|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:— | | | |
| 3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 3,700) ... | 2,379 | 9 | 0 |
| Cash ... | 777 | 6 | 6 |
| | 3,156 | 15 | 6 |
| 6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of face value of Rs. 900 purchased at cost price ... | 903 | 6 | 0 |
| Interest ... | 129 | 0 | 0 |
| | 4,189 | 5 | 6 |

No. 7 FUND

Cr.

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--|-------|----|----|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:— | | | |
| 6 p.c. War Bonds of 1931 ... | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Cash ... | 210 | 4 | 0 |
| | 1,710 | 4 | 0 |
| Interest ... | 89 | 12 | 0 |
| 6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 received in exchange for 6 p.c. Bonds of 1931 of Rs. 1,500 face value ... | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |
| | 3,300 | 0 | 0 |

Account**T. R. N. CAMA***Dr.*

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--|-------|----|----|
| Cost price of 6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of face value Rs. 1700 at Rs. 100-6-0 ... | 1,706 | 6 | 0 |
| Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:— | | | |
| 3½ p.c. G. P. Notes ... 5,000 0 0 | | | |
| 6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds ... 1,706 6 0 | | | |
| Cash ... 29 15 0 | | | |
| | 6,736 | 5 | 0 |
| | 8,442 | 11 | 0 |

Account**RIVAYET PUBLICATION***Dr.*

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|-------|----|----|
| Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:— | | | |
| 3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 4,600) ... | 3,628 | 4 | 0 |
| Cash | 835 | 14 | 6 |
| | 4,464 | 2 | 6 |

Account**PAHLAVI VENDIDAD PRIZE***Dr.*

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|-----------------------------|-------|----|----|
| Balance on 31st Dec. 1931:— | | | |
| Cash | 1,155 | 4 | 4 |
| | 1,155 | 4 | 4 |

No. 8

FUND

Cr.

| | | Rs. a. p. |
|---|------------|------------|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:— | | |
| 3½ per cent G. P. Notes... | 5,000 0 0 | |
| Cash ... | 1,561 13 0 | 6,561 13 0 |
| 6½ p.c. Treasury Bonds of 1935 of the face value of Rs. 1,700 purchased at cost price ... | ... | 1,706 6 0 |
| Interest ... | ... | 174 8 0 |
| | | 8,442 11 0 |

No. 9

FUND

Cr.

| | | Rs. a. p. |
|---|-----------|------------|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:— | | |
| 3½ per cent G. P. Notes (Face Value Rs. 4,600)... | 3,628 4 0 | |
| Cash ... | 675 6 6 | 4,303 10 6 |
| Interest ... | ... | 160 8 0 |
| | | 4,464 2 6 |

No. 10

TRANSLATION FUND

Cr.

| | | Rs. a. p. |
|----------------------------|-----|-----------|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931:— | | |
| Cash ... | ... | 655 4 4 |
| Donation ... | ... | 500 0 0 |
| | | 1,155 4 4 |

Account

MANECKJI LIMJI HATERIA

Dr.

| | | | Rs. a. p. |
|--------------------------------|-----|--|------------------|
| Balance on 31-12-1931:— | | | |
| 3½ p. c. Rs. 4,000 G. P. Notes | ... | | 4,000 0 0 |
| Cash | ... | | 144 12 0 |
| | | | <hr/> 4,144 12 0 |

Account

DR. SIR J. J. MODI

Dr.

| | | | Rs. a. p. |
|---------------------------------|-----|--|------------------|
| Expenses for Life-Size Portrait | ... | | 544 0 0 |
| Balance on 31-12-1931 | ... | | 981 14 0 |
| | | | <hr/> 1,525 14 0 |

No. 11

LIBRARY FUND

Cr.

| | | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|-----|-----|-------|----|----|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931 :— | | | | | |
| 3½ p. c. Notes (F. V. Rs. 4,000). 4,000-0-0 | | | | | |
| Cash | ... | ... | 5-2-0 | | |
| Interest | ... | ... | | | |
| | | | 4,005 | 2 | 0 |
| | | | 139 | 10 | 0 |
| | | | 4,144 | 12 | 0 |

No. 12

APPRECIATION FUND

Cr.

| | | | Rs. | a. | p. |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-------|----|----|
| Balance on 1st Jan. 1931 | ... | ... | 1,370 | 14 | 0 |
| Donation received | ... | ... | 155 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | 1,525 | 14 | 0 |